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Colleen Murdock
Trinity College, Hartford Connecticut, colleen.murdock@trincoll.edu

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RAISING THE DEAD: BERNINI, THE *BEL COMPOSTO*, AND THEATRICALITY IN COUNTER-REFORMATION ROME

A Senior Thesis

Presented by Colleen Murdock

To the Art History Department

In Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Honors in Art History

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Skilled in a variety of arts, Gian Lorenzo Bernini incorporated his knowledge of theater to perfect the Baroque concept of the *bel composto*, meaning the beautiful whole or the effortless and harmonious synthesis of the arts of sculpture, architecture and painting. His connections with the Catholic Church and the efforts of several popes to promote the Counter-Reformation provided commissions and thus opportunities for Bernini to develop and perfect an elevated, theatrical application of the *bel composto* concept in the designs of Catholic chapels in Rome. However, the *bel composto* was a technique meant not only to portray spatial unity but also to produce a sense of accessible physicality, engaging the viewer. This prompts a question as to the extent to which Bernini effectively used his knowledge of theater to enhance the *bel composto* illusionism within his chapel commissions and in turn to promote the efforts of the Counter-Reformation. In addition, Bernini's design approach in his chapels utilizes his experiences with theater and scenography to engage the audience and evoke an emotional response in an intensely charged, illusionistic extension of space. Although there is extensive analysis concerning Bernini's application of the *bel composto*, his involvement in the efforts of the Counter-Reformation, and his talent in theater production, this thesis attempts to recognize the extent to which these concepts compound to enhance his work. In the Raimondi, the Cornaro, and the Altieri Chapels, Bernini achieves a fourth-dimensional quality of theatricality and illusionism through his knowledge of scenography and development of the *bel composto* to further the emotional impact of his chapels in an effort to create a spiritual environment that supports the Counter-Reformation in creating greater piety in many Catholics.

The Counter-Reformation

The Counter-Reformation, also known as the Catholic Reformation, represented a period during which the Catholic Church endeavored to reorganize and reform in an effort to combat threatening criticism against their establishment and the increasing popularity of Protestantism. The specific time period can be considered as starting with the conversion of Saint Ignatius in 1521 and ending with the death of Vincent de Paul around 1660 or more generally from the early sixteenth century to the late seventeenth century.[1] The Church hoped to end the allegations and criticism of ecclesiastical corruption, nepotism, excessive privileges for religious officials, high papal taxes, and sale of exemptions by the Roman Curia.[2] As a result of this corruption, there were protests against Catholicism throughout Europe, including one in London around 1514 in opposition with the suspicious murder of a supposed heretic Richard Hunne as well as the spread of Lutheranism in England in the 1520s.[3] Moreover, Lutheranism expanded into the rest of Europe, especially in Germany and most of Scandinavia, over the next twenty years.[4] The Church thenceforth endeavored to prove its security and genuineness of faith against accusations of corruption through various efforts.

To emphasize clear devotion to the faith, new orders and religious groups, established by saints or influential religious leaders, provided a variety of congregations, in which Catholic followers could devote their lives to specific religious principles and practices. One example is the order of the Jesuits, founded under the leadership of St. Ignatius, who stressed personal meditation, education, and charity similarly to Lutheranism as described by the Jesuit Peter

[1] A. G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969), 200.
[2] Ibid., 9.
[3] Ibid., 15-16.
[4] Ibid., 29.

Canisius in *The True Evangelical Life: Devine Sermons, Teachings, Letters, Songs and Prophecies* from 1543.[5] Other important orders included the Carthusian Order, also emphasizing meditation, and the Franciscans, who revived a mid-fourteenth century movement of humility and a life committed to spiritual reverence.[6] These orders made efforts within their own missions to promote the Catholic faith and thus hinder the spread of oppositional religions, such as Lutheranism.

The first main pope of the Counter-Reformation was Pope Paul II, who reigned from 1534 to 1549. He was known for founding the Ursuline, the Barnabite, and the Jesuit Orders as well as for overseas missions, cultivating the Vatican Library, and electing the famous Michelangelo to renovate St. Peter's.[7] In particular, missionaries provided sacramental materials, such as crosses, holy water, and relics, to evoke faith in their related rituals and miraculous results; however, the disparate demands of the people led to incorrect usage, despite the efforts to replace these remedies with rosaries as a tool of meditation and prayer.[8] Though not entirely successful, this result suggested a need and desire for faith in Catholicism as well as attempted to promote the Counter-Reformation, intending to evoke spiritual piety. In 1536, Paul II appointed new cardinals, rather than potentially suspicious officials, to form a council called the *Consilium* to discuss and implement Catholic reform.[9] They focused on reforming the selection of young, uneducated clergy with inappropriate backgrounds and conduct; instead, the bishops would select those to be ordained and would require teachings of letters, morals, and the use benefices

[5] Ibid., 22.
[6] Ibid., 64-65.
[7] Ibid., 96.
[8] Mary Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (2006): 711.
[9] Dickens, *The Counter Reformation*, 97.

only for good and not profit.[10] The pope's papacy marked the beginnings of a renewal of Church faith and devotion to further maintain their prominent influence.

With regard to the arts, the efforts of the Counter-Reformation intended to regulate Catholic commissions through the Council of Trent that enforced stricter requirements to avoid impropriety and deviations from Church doctrine and decorum. This council, established between 1545 and 1563, formed a consensus of the appropriate qualities of art that attests to the Church's genuine piety rather than the accusations of impropriety and Pagan associations.[11] This ensured that religious art would henceforth represent the spirituality of the Church and its followers according to official doctrine. The growth of confessionalism, governance of the religious faith, through art and Church doctrine solidified their mission and sanction by God against the criticism of reformists, while the reinvigoration of resolute faith was meant to engage worshippers, new and old, from all social backgrounds.[12] In addition, there were guidelines as to which saints were particularly supported and promoted to exemplify ideal yet achievable models of faith in the Church and represented proof of God's continuous recognition of Catholic worshippers and in effect the Church. The Council of Trent specifically stressed that "the worshipper should look not to the image itself but beyond it; the divine or spiritual qualities to which we offer our devotion are vested in no statue or painting but only in the being which it represents."[13] The Church commissioned art that provided a tangible, accessible manifestation of God's will on earth through the Church to inspire and maintain faith in the people.

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[10] Ibid., 98.
[11] Michael J. Call, "Boxing Teresa: The Counter-Reformation and Bernini's Cornaro Chapel," *Woman's Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (1997): 34.
[12] Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation," 709.
[13] Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986), 1:161.

Many artists were commissioned with the task to evoke piety in spectators through art dedicated to saints. Late Renaissance artists, such as Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian, set the stage for the Baroque with a clear attention to religious art and classical antiquity. While Michelangelo was known for convincingly lifelike sculptures like *Pieta* and the sculptural, idealized figures of the Sistine Chapel, Raphael showed talent in his meticulous clarity and optical perspective in paintings of the Madonna and *The School of Athens*. In addition, Titian was famous for his idyllic scenery, simplicity, and soft modulation of figures in paintings, such as *Supper at Emmaus*, as well as his powerful colors and lighting in *The Assumption of the Virgin*. These are some of the many successful artists, whose work up to the Baroque era adhered to the Council of Trent stipulations for religious art, including clarity, legibility, decorum, and appropriate subjects and narratives according to Church doctrine. Confusing narratives and excess in art would otherwise leave room for interpretation, hindering the direct message of the Church and establishing possible worship of the art more than the content.[14]

From the sixteenth into the seventeenth century, there was a continuous effort of Counter-Reformation throughout several papacies. With every pope, there was a consistent emphasis on Catholic doctrine, devotion to the Sacrament, and personal piety through private prayer, not only during church ceremonies or rituals. Beginning with Pope Paul II, a variety of popes sought to specifically establish organized and inspiring environments for devotion though extravagant and ample decorative spaces and art in churches.[15] More generally, "the popes were all equally anxious to improve the material conditions of the Romans and to add to the beauty of their city...to emphasize Rome's special role as the guardian of the classical heritage and her dignity as the capital city of Catholic Christendom, whose ground had been consecrated by the blood of

[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 1:110.

the apostles St Peter and St. Paul and generations of later martyrs."[16] Designs for chapels helped to emphasize the importance of rituals and personal devotion in Catholicism and reflect a form of continuity of the efforts of the Council of Trent and the renewed promotion of confessionalism and unwavering faith.

The Church advocated for spirituality and unwavering piety through the examples of the martyrs and resulting saints that attest to the extensive influence and divine sanction of the Church. Expanding beyond Rome's association with the devotion and martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, saints of other backgrounds and cultures demonstrate the spiritual power of the Church in areas not as clearly linked to the history of the religion. The spirit of the Counter-Reformation persevered during the papacies from the sixteenth century into the seventeenth century, upholding the common aim to maintain and emphasize the importance of the Church and its genuine piety through dedications to an ample and diverse range of saints. Not only did popes reinvigorate or newly dedicate church buildings to different saint, buts they also would devote chapel spaces for more intimate worship of saints.[17]

Much of the ambition to evoke piety specifically through church and chapel decorations into the Baroque period came from Pope Paul V, who reigned from 1605 to 1621. Originally Cardinal Camillo Borghese, Paul V was considered an exemplary leader of the Church for his unwavering devotion to prayer, his insistence on confessing daily before mass, and meditating, even during his fatal illness.[18] It was especially important for the Church to elect high respected popes to encourage the same faithful practices in all worshippers. As part of the Counter-Reformation effort, he promoted the practices of the Council of Trent, the ritual and spiritual

[16] Ibid., 1:115.
[17] Ibid., 1:110.
[18] Ibid., 1:103.

consecration of the host on both the high and side altars of churches, and his reform of ceremonial sacraments dictated in the *Rituale Romanum*.[19] He also encouraged a new form of piety that encouraged adoration of the sacrament of the altar beyond mass.[20] With the support and influence of the Jesuits, the pope initiated the first appearance of decorations for the *Quarant'ore* or the Devotion of Forty Days that consisted of illusionistic ornament and celebration of the Eucharist. This holiday procession, consisting of liturgical canonizations and all saints' day masses over the course of forty days, supported the Counter-Reformation ideals by celebrating the forty days that Christ was in the sepulcher before his resurrection.[21] The number forty also embodies various biblical periods of repentance of sins to achieve salvation: the number of days of Lent, the Flood, the years that children of Israel spent in the desert before law and access to the Promised Land, the number of days and night Christ fasted and was tempted by the devil, and the number of days Christ spent convincing his disciples of his resurrection.[22] This ceremonial holiday also included processions of religious companies between various churches. Through art, Paul V revitalized church decoration and theatrical displays, such as those for *Quarant'ore*.

Artists produced temporary theater displays, consisting of sculpture, painting, architecture, and special effects, in celebration of saints and the Catholic Church during *Quarante'ore*. Artists staged *teatri* or *apparati*, consisting of temporary decoration on the high altar of chapels adorned with candles in silver displays, oil lamps, silver reliquaries, flower arrangements, and images of the saving power of the sacrament of the Eucharist, such as the

[19] Ibid., 1:108-109.
[20] Ibid., 1:110.
[21] Genevieve Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2012), 44.
[22] Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 221.

salvation of saints whose souls ascend to heaven by divine light.[23] The *Quarante'ore* emphasized faith in support of the Counter-Reformation with the prescription from the Council of Trent to properly worship the sacrament of the Eucharist, often represented with a sunburst display illuminating the host.[24] Because of the ceremonial liturgies for canonization, including the remains of the host among altar decorations, the holiday also further supported the Counter-Reformation in promoting the new saints as evidence of divine affirmation of the Church.[25] The displays typically were separated by a small staircase with a balustrade and a proscenium arch as well as a framework around a central presentation of the Eucharist with open arches, niches for statues of saints, silver lamps and candlesticks, and rich brocades, such as in the early example of an *apparto* in Amsterdam from 1605 (Figure 1).[26] Over the seventeenth century, the *apparati* became more elaborate and complex with greater innovation under papacies emphasizing church decoration.

Following Pope Paul V, Gregory XV reigned from 1621 to 1623 and encouraged the same devout faith and celebration of Church rituals as his predecessor. Born Alessandro Ludovisi, he was "a child of the Counter-Reformation, a pupil of the Jesuits and a thoroughly honest and honourable man."[27] He was active in reform and increased the efforts of the Counter-Reformation to gain more followers and further prove the legitimacy of the faith. One reform was that the papal elections became conducted using ballots unknown to other voters to avoid corruption and establish proper democratic procedure.[28] In addition, he expanded the global Catholic population, sending missionaries to South America, India, China, and other foreign

[23] Ibid., 218.
[24] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 45.
[25] Ibid., 44.
[26] Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," 226.
[27] Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, 1:192.
[28] Ibid., 1:195-196.

regions to gain more followers.[29] In this effort, the expansion of the faith beyond Europe competitively threatened Protestants and leaders of the Reformation. Furthermore, he restored relations with Germany, Austria, and France, which were suspicious during the Reformation but retained some faith in Catholicism.[30] The growing support and loyalty of the Jesuits were especially important in the influence of missionaries and in expanding the faith, as exemplified in the celebratory decorations of their well-known church of the Gesù.[31] Despite his short reign, Gregory XV continued the progress of the Counter-Reformation and the influence of religious art.

Cardinal Maffeo Barberini was elected Pope Urban VIII in 1623, and he broadened the efforts of the Counter-Reformation and churches to strengthen the capitol of Catholicism. Urban VIII shared many of the same values as Paul V, emphasizing worship in churches and chapels, endeavoring to produce clear, legible, devotional art in accordance with the Council of Trent, and prioritizing properly conducted ceremonies and rituals. The pope was especially firm regarding Church doctrine and fought against any accusatory criticism and threatening publications directly or indirectly regarding the Church. For instance, in 1633, Galileo was forced to renounce his theories about the earth's movement around the sun in his *Dialogo*, which threatened the authority of the Church and its doctrine claiming that the earth is the center of the universe.[32] Furthermore, he implemented regulations for beatification and canonization that remain applicable today, where the Holy See was the sole granter of canonization, even for past saints, unless the saint was correctly canonized or their cult was no less than one hundred years

[29] Ibid., 1:196.
[30] Ibid., 1:196.
[31] Ibid., 1:197.
[32] Ibid., 1:230.

old.[33] In addition, there was a rise in popularity in Franciscan cult worship and in devotion to St. Francis. For example, Lucas Wadding, an Irish Franciscan monk and author, wrote a popular series of volumes during the 1640s on the history of the Franciscan Order, *Annales Minorum*, which included many sources from the Middle Ages.[34] Urban VIII emphasized cults in support of the Church and issued various regulations to prevent any potential for doubt regarding canonization and to verify the significance of saints and their evidential support of God's recognition of the Church.

Designs for *apparati* during the *Quarant'ore* became more experimental and extravagant under the papacy of Urban VIII with a dramatic increase in light. For example, at the Gesù in 1610, there were two thousand and three hundred oil lamps and five hundred candles.[35] The presentation of the Eucharist thus became a theater display in itself with a focus on light as well as the fusion of architecture, sculpture, and painting. For example, at the Gesù in 1610, the *apparati* was decorated with columns, balustrades, cornices, and about 2300 oil lamps and 500 candles.[36] In the cathedral of Milan on Palm Sunday of 1613, instruments of the Passion of Christ decorated the vault above the altar with a crimson drapery over the baldachin carried by angels and raised twelve steps covered in candles.[37] Despite his death in 1644, this theatricality of *apparati* continued to influence the art of the Church. In the carnival of 1646, Niccolo Menghini produced a display of the Crossing of the Red Sea in the Gesù that was a large scale of forty meters high, twenty meters wide, and fifteen meters deep.[38] These are only a few of the many theatrical *apparati* that celebrated the Church and the importance of the Eucharist. In

[33] Ibid., 1:228.
[34] Ibid., 1:238.
[35] Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," 226.
[36] Ibid., 226.
[37] Ibid., 227.
[38] Ibid., 219.

addition, the invention and tradition of the *apparati* reflects the continuous efforts of the Counter-Reformation from the late sixteenth century into the seventeenth century.

Bernini's Background and Early Work

Gian Lorenzo Bernini was a prominent leader of seventeenth century Baroque art, especially concerning art commissioned by the Catholic Church. He was born in Naples on December 7 in 1598 to Angelica Galante and Pietro Bernini, a Florentine sculptor, who was born in 1562 and died in 1629.[39] Around 1605, his father moved with his family to Rome, working under Cardinal Camillo Borghese, the future Paul V, and completing designs of a somewhat mannerist style, such as his sculptural relief of *Assumption of the Virgin* in Santa Maria Maggiore (Figure 2).[40] Pietro Bernini trained his young son Gian Lorenzo from a young age, studying the masterpieces in the Vatican that ranged from Raphael, Michelangelo, and Giulio Romano to the Laocoön, the Apollo Belvedere, and the Hellenistic torso of Hercules.[41] Gian Lorenzo Bernini produced impressive, talented works early in his life. Before he was seventeen, he completed *The Goat Amalthea with the Infant Jupiter and a Faun* in 1615, providing an example of his skill and demonstrating his knowledge of classical antiquity through the subject and the idealized, meticulous style (Figure 3).[42] In addition, he showed his ability at a young age to orchestrate a complex composition of figures with different expressions and textures. The textures range from the smooth fleshy bodies of the young faun and goat to the soft curls of their

[39] Howard Hibbard, *Bernini* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1965), 23.
[40] Ibid., 23.
[41] Ibid., 24.
[42] Ibid., 25.

hair and the sharply carved detail of the goat's hair. When Cardinal Barberini said to his father, "Watch out, he will surpass his master," his father relied, "It doesn't bother me, for as you know, in that case the loser wins."[43] From a young age, Bernini showed talent influenced by his father and early encouragement from officials of the Church.

Bernini's early connections with the Church exemplified the recognition of his talent and stylistic qualities to achieve a theatrical and effective impact. Bernini was originally under the protection of Paul V, who stated that the young artist would become "the Michelangelo of his age."[44] Bernini exhibited the same quality of *giudizio dell'occhio* as Michelangelo, which defines the capacity to apply creative innovation judiciously to traditional models and approaches.[45] With great confidence in his potential, Paul V granted the responsibility of Bernini and his ingenuity to Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the future Urban VIII, under the advisement and in accordance with the personal endeavors of both papacies.[46] When Cardinal Barberini first met Bernini, he was impressed with the dramatic presentation of the two busts of Scipione Borghese, as a representation of Bernini's capacity to render extreme naturalism, expression, and character of the subject (Figure 4).[47] He also completed a second bust over an impressively short period of time to achieve the same quality of the first without the gray veins of the marble that detracted from the portrait's realism. Gregory XV, the pope following Paul V, admired Bernini for his talent as such a young artist and commissioned a portrait from him to utilize his acclaimed sculptural abilities.[48] Meanwhile, Bernini continued to work under the advisement of the next pope after the two-year papacy of Gregory XV. At the beginning of Urban VIII's papacy, the

[43] Ibid., 24.
[44] Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Anita Levy, and Steven F. Ostrow, *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 253.
[45] Ibid., 258.
[46] Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966), 10.
[47] Delbeke, Levy, and Ostrow, *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, 253.
[48] Ibid., 14.

pope had already recognized Bernini's talent early in his career and said to Bernini, "you are made for Rome and Rome for you."[49] Bernini continued to learn from the Church, improve his skills, and reach the potential in which so many believed.

Bernini's relationship with Church officials provided numerous opportunities to realize effective religious art. One instance of his early work is the sculpture of the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* from 1616 that depicts the naturalistic movement of the flames and the expressive agony of the saint, supposedly achieved by the artist putting his own leg into fire for observation (Figure 5).[50] This compulsion to experience the same torture of the saint in order to achieve accuracy and realism demonstrates the beginnings of Bernini's ambition to evoke emotion through art. Another high achievement in Bernini's career was the *Baldacchino* in St. Peter's, designed in the 1620s and completed in the 1630s (Figure 6).[51] The rendering of the bronze appears so malleable that it seems "like leather" and "the tassels…like gilt cord" in addition to the ethereal delicacy of the laurels like those of his *Apollo and Daphne* (Figure 7).[52] The monumental, rich quality of the canopy structure enhances the metamorphic themes that depict a lifelike quality and sense of movement, especially with the animated, expressive angels and the naturalistic, lush garlands transforming into the structural foundation. Although this example does not demonstrate Bernini's abilities to render a theatrical representation of a saint, it illustrates the naturalistic qualities of his work with his aptitude for illusionism and theatricality. Moreover, he completed a sculpture for one of the niches in St. Peter's between 1635 and 1638 called *St. Longinus*, with a palpable dynamism and intense emotion (Figure 8).[53] The inlaid

[49] Martin S. Briggs, "The Genius of Bernini," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 26, no. 143 (1915): 197.
[50] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 29.
[51] Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, 1:250.
[52] Anthony Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," *Art History* 1, no. 1 (1978): 71.
[53] Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, 1:269.

marbles set into the background of the angels and relics portray purple clouds against a yellow sky, conveying an illusionistic, dramatic storm and echoing the gold colors of the Baldacchino.[54] In this work, Bernini achieved illusionistic theatricality through dramatic diagonals, hyperbolic energized fabric, idealized anatomy, and an emphatic facial expression that discern the moment of spiritual rapture. These works exemplify the beginning of Bernini's momentum in theatrical, impactful expression.

It is important to understand the specific context in which each chapel was designed and executed. The Raimondi Chapel was built between 1640 and 1647, commissioned during the papacy of Urban VIII with a strong advocacy of the Counter-Reformation and a personal relationship with Bernini. In addition to the interest of the patrons, the Pope's own strong relationship with the Franciscan order could explain the application of medieval funerary traditions, known for modesty and references to immortality and the afterlife. However, the Cornaro Chapel was commissioned during the papacy of Innocent X, who disliked the past reign of the Barberini family and thereby Bernini for his close connection with them. Although Bernini did receive certain commissions, Innocent X favored Bernini's competitors with larger commissions earlier during his reign, although their work was similar to the style and intentions of Bernini. For example, Girolamo Rainaldi, a preferred architect of the pope, transformed centralized churches into more complex Latin cross plans with the intensity and Baroque dramatic tension of two axes.[55] Nevertheless, the endeavor for innovation and desire to achieve a more complex theatrical composition are similar to the values of Bernini. The pope continued the Church's commitment to the art, especially ecclesiastical architecture, "to build and adorn Rome

[54] Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 71.
[55] Ibid., 2:60.

to the glory of God and the glorification of the Pamphili family."[56] Despite the pope's favor of other artists, Bernini retained his position as chief architect of the *Reverenda Fabbrica,* as well as commissions from other Church officials and even smaller papal commissions, such as the design of the portraits of popes in the reconstruction of Constantine's basilica.[57] However, Bernini's presentation of the Four Rivers Fountain design in a competition commissioned by Innocent X proved Bernini's skills and gained the pope's approval and support.[58] Thus, despite the period of the pope's brief disfavor, Bernini continued to produce art for the Church to the extent that he regained an influence to help reinvigorate his innovation and artistic skills.

The Altieri Chapel was commissioned during the papacy of Clement X and specifically in support of the Counter-Reformation. Although the chapel was not commissioned directly from the pope, an official of the pope's family, the Altieri, requested a chapel from Bernini to honor a saint related to them, thereby celebrating their family.[59] Pope Clement X continued the trend to emphasize spirituality and emphatic piety in the Church. At the time, there were ideas such as Quietisms that promoted a passive and silent submission to God through meditation and personal revelation.[60] Despite its controversy, Quietism demonstrates a response to a desire for individual spirituality and sincere devotion similar to the efforts of the Counter-Reformation. Bernini was also known for his own dedication to the faith and regular practice of prayer. According to Chantelou's diary during Bernini's visit to Paris, he claimed that Bernini practiced the rituals of St. Ignatius, the devotion of the Good Death at the Gesù on Fridays, and the Penitential Psalms daily, and private prayer in the morning and evenings.[61] In Paris, he frequently attended mass in

[56] Ibid., 2:31.
[57] Ibid., 2:33.
[58] Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, 36.
[59] Ibid., 64.
[60] Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, 2:286.
[61] Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 78.

churches of the Feuillants, who were considered austere and intensely devout worshippers.[62] Although the Counter-Reformation ended in the late to middle seventeenth century, the recent influence of the reform greatly impacted the spirit of the Church, enhanced with new regulations, reorganization, and renewed devotion. Bernini's continuous devotion to his own faith exhibits an understanding and admiration of Catholicism that he likely applied in his work.

Bernini's *Bel Composto* and Theater

Although the seventeenth century consisted of many successful artists that achieved the idea of the *bel composto* and the Baroque style in art commissioned by the Church, Bernini continually brought forth a unique and unmatched theatrical synthesis of the three visual arts. According to Filippo Baldinucci, a contemporary of Bernini, "It is the general opinion that Bernini was the first to attempt to unify architecture with sculpture and painting in such a way as to make all of them all a beautiful whole [*un bel composto*], and that he achieved this by occasionally departing from the rules, without actually violating them."[63] The designs of Bernini's chapels embody Vasari's ideal qualities of *disegno*, which creates a seamless connection between the three arts, reproduction or at least imitation of nature, and a system of proportions based on nature, such as the human form.[64] While some criticize Bernini's design for excessive opulence and complexity, the intention to exaggerate beauty and drama consistently and effectively engages the audience to the utmost degree. According to Lavin, "Bernini is the first to use certain illusionistic techniques but rather that Bernini took up and adapted to his own

[62] Ibid.
[63] Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* vol. 1, *Text Volume* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980), 6.
[64] Ibid., 9.

purpose."[65] Bernini is sometimes credited for the *bel composto* as a result of his intense religiosity and expressive work, elevating the fusion of art with his own innovative approach.[66] The persistency and uniformity in his powerful, dynamic designs reflect the same unwavering dedicated quality of faith that Bernini strove to evoke. In supporting the Counter-Reformation, Bernini evoked piety in the audience through the dedication of the chapels to devout saints, solidifying the Church's role by instilling spiritual devotion into viewers. To achieve the compelling theatricality of the Baroque style of in the hope of evoking piety, Bernini perfected the concept of *bel composto* through his interest in scenography, which helped to engage the viewers and create an illusionistic extension of the earthly world into the realm of the divine. Creating the sense of accessibility to spiritual enlightenment through the model of a saint transitioning from earth to the heavens and the evocative presence of the design of the event itself embodies the position of the Church as a connection between earthly reality and the divine world.

The theatricality of Bernini's art that evokes spiritual fervor derives from Bernini's experience with theater throughout his career. Between 1620 and 1670, he conducted at least twenty theater performances, especially under the pontificate of Urban VIII and Clement IX, for both religious and secular occasions.[67] Theater productions were composed of temporary stage constructions using all the visual arts, architecture, sculpture and painting, to effectively present a performance with innovative and dramatic scenography. Some examples of other theater productions include the illusionistic, fantastical stage design of *Il Sant'Alessio*, engaging the audience's imagination and emotion, and Stefano della Bella's garden stage set for *Jean*

[65] Jennifer Montagu, "Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts," Review of *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* by Irving Lavin, *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 949 (1982): 241.
[66] Delbeke, Levy, and Ostrow, *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, 265.
[67] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 23.

Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin with a relatable familiarity to the contemporary setting and the optical illusion of recession into space (Figures 9-10). Viewers that watched Bernini's production of *Il Sant'Alessio* recorded their enthusiasm for the stimulating, sensational scenography and the impressive scenes of Hell, illusionistic landscape and palace, and the mystical hovering angels and allegory of Religion.[68] Because permanent theater buildings only originated in the second half of the seventeenth century, Bernini's early career mostly consisted of scenographic productions for temporary wooden theaters, adapting to the surrounding spatial environment of the occasion, such as a private residence or palace, a church, a garden complex, or a city square.[69]

Bernini as well as other artists designed their theaters not only in accordance with these spatial conditions but also in consideration of the significance of the occasion and patron. Recitals, plays, or other staged performances were part of a series of social spectacles, such as banquets, devotions, processions, balls, and feasts, which lasted several days in celebration of Catholic holidays, diplomatic events, or civic festivals.[70] Bernini was not only an artist but also a performance director and scenographic designer that produced illusionistic, elaborate theater evocative of the dynamism of Baroque art. One of the main focuses was to remove the physical and atmospheric barrier between the actors and the audience to "enact a happening rather than to re-present an encapsulated narrative."[71] Bernini created immediacy and engaged the viewers through a mirror reflection of the audience's cultural, ritual, and social backgrounds, which

[68] Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 58.
[69] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 7.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 6.

produced a parallel and binding connection between the audience and the actors.[72] In his chapels, he utilizes similar techniques to engage the viewers based on their values and emotions.

In many of theater productions, Bernini's ability to incorporate the theatrical dynamism of the Baroque into a harmonious, cohesive whole parallels the art of performance, as a stage-like production with components appearing to come to life. According to Warwick, Bernini was an "actor, director and scenographer, producing plays both in his own premises and in the palaces of Rome's great papal families, as well as designing myriad temporary displays of scenography for the elaborately staged Baroque ceremonies of church and court."[73] Some of his earlier productions include *The Two Academies* in 1635, presenting two settings and two groups of actors performing separately in their realties but also in relation to one another. [74] Another example is *Of Two Theaters* in 1637, which similarly performs a play within a play and a fictive audience to engage and parallel the actual spectators.[75] Some of his later productions includes *L'innocenza difesa* in 1641 that orchestrates fireworks, a reproduction of the cityscape of Rome, and a sunset lighting effect, contributing to the illusionism of the setting and play.[76] An example of the theatrical effects of his fireworks can be seen in an engraving of *Fireworks for the Birth of the Dauphin* from 1662 (Figure 11). In addition, Bernini's sun machine that provided various lighting effects, such as a sunset or sunrise, carried great significance in producing a fantastical, convincing extension of the audience's reality (Figure 12). In 1645, the production of *La Fiera* included a seemingly accidental fire to evoke intense emotions of the audience.[77] Each of

[72] Ibid., 7.
[73] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 3.
[74] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 35.
[75] Ibid., 39.
[76] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 148.
[77] Jackson I. Cope, "Bernini and Roman Commedie Ridicolose," *PMLA* 102, no. 2 (1987): 181.

Bernini's theater productions aimed to draw the viewers into the illusionism of an extending space and reality in order to engage their emotions and evoke the intended reactions.

In addition, Bernini participated in the orchestration of *apparati* or religious displays staging the celebration of the Eucharist from church to church during the *Quarant'ore*, which enhanced the dynamism of the ceremonies and thereby evoked spiritual fervor in the audience. In Bernini's attempt to bridge the realm of art and audience in theater, he gained the skills and knowledge to apply this technique in chapels for the same immediacy and interactive quality. In general, *apparati* were illusionistic stage sets, composed of painting, sculpture, and architecture, all arranged for one scene and lit by thousands of hidden lamps.[78] Bernini's first *apparati* was for the *Quarant'ore* of 1619 at the Oratory of the Jesuit Pietro Caravita, in which he illuminated the stage with hidden lamps.[79] In addition, this not only establishes an early application of hidden sources of light but also begins a progression to create illusionistic settings to celebrate the subject to which the art form is dedicated. His example influenced many other artists and their interpretations of illusionistic *apparati*, such as in Pietro da Cortona's design for San Lorenzo in Damaso in 1633 (Figure 13). Although not many of Bernini's *apparati* were recorded, one example of Bernini's devotional display of the Eucharist was copied in a drawing of his tabernacle from 1673, fusing sculpture, painting, and architecture (Figure 14).[80] Another visual reference for Bernini's *apparati* could be the permanent ornamentation of the apse in St. Peter's, the Cathedra Petri, from between 1657 and 1666, as a theatrical representation of divine light emanating from the dove of the Holy Spirit in devotion of the ritual of the Eucharist on the altar below (Figure 15). The sculptural gilded rays of light and celestial figures appear to materialize

[78] Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," 219.
[79] Jennifer Tonkovich, "Two Studies for the Gesù and a 'Quarantore' Design by Bernini," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1138 (1998): 36.
[80] Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991), 45.

from the light of the window and Holy Spirit, projecting into the ceremonial space of the spectators.[81]

The theater settings and *apparati* parallel the same dimensional yet contained environment of Bernini's chapels and offered the ability to use architecture. Not only did the architectural components of the stage frame the performance, but they also acted as an extension of the original space into which the audience entered. The front of the stage typically consisted of staircases for actors to interact directly with the audience and physically bridge the two spaces as one continuous space.[82] Even the wood, *papier-mâché* and gesso of the architecture alluded to more tangible, permanent materials, such as marble, gold, and bronze.[83] In addition, this allowed the actors to emulate the spectators, participating in their balls and banquets, reflecting the same decorum and demeanor of court life, and physically breaking through the assumed barrier of separation.[84] Other illusions through architectural elements of the stage allow for scenographic effects through light. For example, hidden lamps and other sources of lights directed by architectural forms alluded to bursts of sun, or the atmospheric presence of thunderstorms or darkening skies.[85] The architecture of the theater therefore embodied that of the setting as well as an extension into another natural or supernatural realm.

The fusion of architecture and the manipulation of light as well as the sculpture and painting components of the scenography and *apparati* harmonized to create a staged deception that engages the audience. The presence of actors among the space of the audience and the stage not only to conjoin the architecture into one uniform space but also connects the sculpture on the

[81] Ibid., 100.
[82] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 24.
[83] Ibid., 22.
[84] Ibid., 24.
[85] Ibid., 39.

stage with the space of the viewers. Although Bernini used stucco, clay, wax, wood, *papier-mâché* and gesso for his sculptural figures, he rendered a lifelikeness of gesture, pose, and expression so similar to the actors that they appear to "speak."[86] According to Domenico Bernini, his father produced sketches of movement to direct the gesture and physical language of the actors as well as render the illusion of naturalistic expression and action of the sculpture.[87] He especially emphasized the importance of modeling for texture that could depict the diverse textures of malleable flesh, translucent crisp leaves, billowing fabric, and porous weightless clouds.[88] In addition, the painting of the structure to allude to a continuity in space from the audience into the stage also played into the production and stage design. The *trompe-l'oeil* illusionism of the painted setting deceived the eye of the viewer and extended the space of the stage out into an additional fictive realm.[89] For example, the background painting perhaps depicted a garden scene similar to that of the palace in which the performance takes place.[90] Thus, the sculpture and painting echoes the social environment and decorum of the audience to further the immediacy and theatricality of the performance.

The progression of Bernini's career reflects a clear presence of talent and originality through his various influences. The idea of the *bel composto* in Baroque art became an opportunity for Bernini to integrate his experiences with theater and to promote the faith of the Catholic Church. He recreated the fusion of the arts in his theater productions to produce the same qualities of energy, naturalism, illusionism, and emotional engagement of the audiences in many of his chapels, including the Raimondi, Cornaro, and Altieri chapels. The influence of

[86] Ibid., 10.
[87] Ibid., 37.
[88] Ibid., 39.
[89] Ibid., 39.
[90] Ibid., 28-29.

theater combines the spiritual intimacy of the chapel spaces with the monumentality and impact of a church building to portray the metaphorical presence of both the divine and the authority of the Church. Three main chapels exemplifying the integration of the *bel composto* and scenographic influences to assert the values of the Counter-Reformations in chapels dedicated to saints are the Raimondi Chapel, the Cornaro Chapel, and the Altieri Chapel.

An Early Chapel: Santa Bibiana

Although it is important to understand Bernini's integration of the *bel composto* and theatricality into his mature chapels, it is also essential to evaluate the origins of this development in his early work. Bernini's first formal commission for a church was also his first creation of a draped sculpture.[91] Not only does this allude to Bernini's early ties to the Church in an effort to support and advocate for the beliefs and values of the Counter-Reformation, but also this commission elevated his career due to his inspiring and innovative approach to the subject. Under the pontificate of Pope Urban VIII from the Barberini family, the Church strived to glorify the memory of the Roman saint, Vivian or Bibiana, who was born on December 2 in 247 and became a martyr as young as 15 years old.[92] By representing her devotion to inspire piety in others, her martyrdom and consequential sainthood thereby endorses the Church in an effort to further the Counter-Reformation (Figure 16). Her cult praised her humility and sacrifice, refusing the advances of the Roman governor Apronius and as a result enduring the punishment of being tied to a column and whipped to death.[93] Urban VII thus acted to revive the church dedicated in

[91] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 74.
[92] Tod A. Marder and Joseph S. Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture* (New York: Abbeville, 1998), 47.
[93] Ibid.

her memory as an ideal model of a Roman Catholic, spreading the teachings of the Church among her community. In doing so, he also promotes the efforts of the Counter-Reformation through the saint and her association to Rome, which affirms divine recognition of the Church.

The pope commissioned Bernini to honor the saint with a dramatic altarpiece as well as the restoration of the church architecture, significant in its location and symbolism. According to Baldinucci, the restoration and decoration of the chapel pleased God so much that he rewarded the church by revealing the remains of the saint in the *ursum pileatum*, a nearby catacomb filled with the bodies of martyrs.[94] This in itself provides the evidence of God's recognition that prompted the restoration and redesign from the beginning. The church is also located near an ancient site of a Roman temple of Minerva Medica, confirmed in fifth and eighth century texts associating the temple with the saint's cult and their healing rituals for spastics, epileptics, alcoholics, and others with mental or emotional disorders.[95] Deciding to restore this site on February 24, 1624, the patron Marcello Sacchetti subsidized restoration of the exterior facade, a new high altar, and fresco decoration along the clerestory (Figure 17).[96] The patron's connection to the restoration of the church promotes his own alignment with the church and evidence of his devotion. The simplicity and unity of the facade reflect the humble lifestyle of the saint as well as the intimate, clean, light interior space, evocative of a bright divine presence. The sentiment of modesty and intimacy also emphasizes a clear focus on the dedication to the saint, rendered in a sculpture in the apse and kept close to the congregation in the small nave.

Bernini mainly focused on the altarpiece as most symbolic of the saint, encapsulated at the climactic moment of her martyrdom (Figure 18). A surviving painted altarpiece from the

[94] Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, 19.
[95] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 46.
[96] Ibid., 48.

fifteenth century showed the saint with her attributes of curative herbs in her right hand, martyr's palms in her left, purifying water, and the column of her martyrdom.[97] The healing herbs lie on the rocky surface of the ground and the implied curative waters, all of which preside at the saint's feet as less important than the symbols of her martyrdom.[98] The column of her martyrdom and the martyr's palms in her left hand more emphatically evoke the devotion of viewers, alluding to her spiritual transformation as a result of her final sacrifice rather than the less dynamic association with her healing iconography. Furthermore, her drapery and gesture amplify the dramatic climax of her divine salvation and glorification. Her contrapposto position of one leg forward and bent, her raised right hand, and the tilting of her head imply a graceful, humble recognition of a divine presence. In contrast to her graceful gesture and even the smooth solidity of the column and gilded palms, the drapery appears agitated and energized to correspond to the submissive reaction of the saint and the evocative power of the spiritual force reflected in the drapery.[99] In comparison to the similar rendition of *Bibiana* by Guido Reni, Bernini meant to achieve not a stiff, static quality but a lively, dynamic sensation.[100] Thus, he engages the participation of the viewer, extending into our reality to evoke emotions and spiritual fever.

Despite being an early work of Bernini, this was his first example of manipulation of light through a hidden source that symbolizes divine illumination. The eyes of Santa Bibiana gaze up at the vision of heavenly light casted down through the natural light of the windows and the symbolically painted vault of divine glory, which involves her in the spatial extension from the divine world to the earthly reality.[101] Her raised right hand catches the light radiating down

[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., 51.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 75.
[101] Ibid., 71.

from the left side of the apse as a symbolic representation of divine illumination. However, as seen in the outside of the apse, the coffer vaulting originally had two hidden sources of light that would have caught not only the saint's right hand and the column but also her turned face on the opposite side.[102] The architectural context therefore attempts to bathe the entire altarpiece in light in contrast to the dimmer nave and side aisles. The inclining back of the aperture accentuates the radiation of light towards the sculpture as though a "transmitter of spiritual illumination" and a "beatific vision" depicted on the vault panels of angels and God (Figure 19).[103] In addition, hiding the source conveys a mystical, mysterious surprise of spiritual iridescence that becomes typical of the Baroque to represent a connection between our world and the divine world.

The strong sense of a spiritual source extending from the vault depiction of heaven to the radiating yet purposefully directed light to the lively reaction of the saint further extends into our space. The illusionism and theatricality that engages the audiences reflects a greater understanding of art in the context of theater and scenography. Bernini creates this engagement and interaction fusing painting, architecture, sculpture into one that spiritually and physically protrudes into our space to evoke emotion and piety. This early example marks the beginning of Bernini's development of the perfect synthesis of harmony and immediacy by means of the *bel composto* and theatricality.

[102] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 51.
[103] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 34.

CHAPTER II: THE RAIMONDI CHAPEL

Introduction

Bernini applied the concept of the *bel composto* and scenography in his early construction of the Raimondi Chapel, built between 1640 and 1647. He worked to emphasize the harmony of the sculpture, architecture, and painting in the chapel to create unity that highlights the sense of drama and mysticism. Bernini designed the Raimondi Chapel to commemorate the lives and achievements of two Raimondi family members. Although the main patron was Francesco Raimondi, who lived from 1605 to 1638 as a young clerk and Vatican protonotary, the chapel was also dedicated to Girolamo Raimondi, an apostolic clerk, who was born in 1576 and died in 1628.[104] The chapel is located in San Pietro in Montorio in Rome sponsored by Spanish Franciscans with an exterior architectural extension beyond the church structure to expand the interior space (Figure 20).[105] Because of the association with Spanish Franciscans, the dedication to St. Francis was not only appropriate but also suggests a validation in the significance of his miraculous life. The chapel is the second and last bay on the left side of the church with a vaulted dome and a structural framework of columns dividing the chapel into three sections of sculptural reliefs with two windows placed in between. In addition, the interior space and façade of the chapel maintained a precise continuity of sculpture and architecture as well as a sense of spiritual intimacy. Interestingly, the chapel was completed soon after *Santa Bibiana*, which could have inspired his more sculptural and unified approach to the Raimondi Chapel.

[104] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 106.
[105] Ibid.

The composition, use of light, altarpiece, and various supporting elements uphold this concept to inspire devotion to the saint and patrons portrayed. The overall composition emulated that of a staged theater performance to fuse the physical arts of architecture, sculpture and painting as well as harmonizing the presence of the divine realm with the world of the viewer. Furthermore, the individual components enhance the overall application of scenography, as each theatrically emphasized the presence of a supernatural force to evoke piety in the viewers. While the Raimondi Chapel was one of many to commemorate a saint that embodies the divine recognition of the Church, the chapel also exemplifies Bernini's early innovative approach to heighten the impact upon viewers through theatrical scenographic influences.

The Chapel Composition

The main structures of the chapel establish spatial planes that correspond to create continuity from the earthly audience to the heavenly divine (Figure 21). The horizontal progression from the audience back into space reflects the continuity from the earthly audience at the entrance, to the transitional salvation of the saint in the main space, and finally to the background source of light symbolic of a divine force. Similarly, the vertical progression starts with the floor and altar table at the bottom, transitioning to the altarpiece and principal space of the chapel and ending with the space of the surmounting dome. These correspond to the audience as earthly worshippers, the altarpiece as the saint's transition from the earthly to the divine, and the final destination of heaven, embodied by the glorification of god and the light of the lantern. The consistency of proportional relationships also creates continuity from the square ratio of the funerary monuments and the equal height and depth of the chapel.[106] The lines of the ionic

[106] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 23.

columns and pilasters achieve this same verticality, continuing upward to transform into the ribs of the vault with putti and painted scenes within each framed area.[107] Lastly, the vault physically extends the chapel, while the painting of St. Francis in *di sotto in su* conveys an illusion of another world above the chapel and portrays the religious underlying significance.[108] There is thus a laddered progression between realms, fusing all the arts and symbolism within the chapel.

The horizontal accents of the moldings particularly create continuity and cohesion between monuments close up and deep within the space. These moldings run across the stylobate, the column bases, the pedimented niches for portrait busts, the entablature, and the altar tabernacle. For example, the "cornice of the semicircular pediment continues that of the entablature" and "the pattern of the pavement schematized reflection of vault ribs."[109] The frieze along the stylobate not only creates architectural continuity but also cohesion of symbols, such as thorned branches with blossomed roses, birds, and flaming hearts. The thorny roses are symbols of martyrdom, which the bird embodies larks celebrating the human soul entering heaven and the flaming hearts reflect divine adoration.[110] Not only are these symbols of great importance to the salvation of the soul, but they are also specific to the saint himself. The thorned rose branches refers St. Francis achieving *Il Perdono* or The Pardon, from Honorius III, who provided him with roses that grew in the winter and he used in self-mortification.[111] The Pardon was a Franciscan privilege that absolved a faithful of all their sin if they visited the Portiuncula near Assisi.[112] Another symbol specific to St. Francis is the flaming heart, because it refers to a recorded story that describes the saint praying "for flaming and mellifluous power of divine love to absorb him

[107] Ibid., 22.
[108] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 109.
[109] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 23.
[110] Ibid., 49.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

so that he might die for love of God's love."[113] These detailed sculptural elements within the architectural frame merge these arts to similarly unify the symbols of St. Francis and his piety.

Concealing the source of light creates a mystical, mysterious sense of the supernatural throughout the chapel that would be heightened given the original use of flickering candlelight. The divine light is not only represented in the dome lantern with the fictive image of divine light but also the illumination of the space to enhance the spiritual experience of St. Francis in the altarpiece (Figure 22). Bernini depicts the saint according to an anonymous witness, who observed the saint in prayer "rapt in God and lifted up from the earth: sometimes to the height of three cubits, sometimes four, sometimes as high as the top of the beech tree; and sometimes...so high, and surrounded by such dazzling splendour that scarce could the eye behold him."[114] The illumination of divine salvation thus permeates beyond the confines of the altarpiece into the architectural space of the chapel. Bernini achieves this through tall slender rectangular openings at the end of the chapel with wider windows next to these and slightly lower as well as semicircular windows that are now closed.[115] All these hidden windows enhance the clarity and contrast of the light and shadow, allowing the sculptures to appear more legible and the symbolic divine light to appear powerful yet mysterious. In addition to these main windows, the rectangular light wells at the entrance and exterior of the chapel are hidden behind larger columns to direct light onto the altarpiece.[116] However, the addition of a light source from the upper left corner of the altarpiece allude to the vision of St. Francis, as the direction of light corresponds with the illumination of the sculpture and creates stronger contrast on the surface.[117]

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[113] Ibid.
[114] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 108.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 105.

Bernini conceptualized the design of the chapel as a whole architectural and sculptural site to better concentrate light and enhance its effect. In addition, the theatricality elevates the depiction of a mystical miracle that was important to prove divine recognition of the Catholic faith.

Not only did Bernini construct openings in specific positions to direct light, but he also used the architectural and sculptural features to diffuse light more distinctly. The overlapping of clustered fluted columns, the broken cornice, and the further framing details of the architectural and capital decoration provide a continuous undulating composition. Moreover, the variation from undulating concave and convex forms to the linear planes produces intense contrasts between light and shadow that enhance the theatricality. In general, the continuity of sculpture and architecture in an off-white color further clarifies the details and effect of chiaroscuro. The concave and undulating features amplify this effect as well as portray brightly lit figures emerging through darkness in a stylistic approach similar to Caravaggio's *tenebroso* technique to achieve a sense of an active divine force.[118] The juxtaposition of different sculptural and architectural forms to manipulate light also contrast the simplicity of the open, evenly lit space of the viewers.[119]

Overall, the lack of color below the dome creates unity and continuity that enhances the chiaroscuro effect of the light. The unity emphasizes a "luminosity so pervasive and colorlessness so unrelenting that they charge space with an aura of mystical unreality."[120] The monochrome white or lack of color permeates throughout the space to also unite the separate components and merge the sculpture and architecture into one. While the architecture acts as a framing structure that organizes the sculptural altarpiece, busts, tombs, and setting, the

[118] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 108.
[119] Ibid., 109.
[120] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 23-24.

uniformity of white materials blends these structures and instead emphasizes distinctive elements by light and shadow. The emphasis on the orchestration of the chapel does not compartmentalize but rather establishes a connection between the representation of the saint, the tombs and busts of the patrons, and the symbolic heavenly presence from the vault images and natural lighting. Thus, these elements most effectively and organically integrate into the space, especially through the "interweaving of horizontal and vertical members" that in the composition, use of light, altarpiece, and various supporting elements uphold this concept to also evoke the same devotion of the saint and patrons portrayed. effect "does not adhere only to a strict geometrical scheme."[121] The unity of the color also reflects the harmonious cohesion of the structure itself.

The Influence of Theater

In addition to the general tangible and stage-like theatricality of chapel's structure, Bernini's specific examples of theater productions possibly had direct influence. Bernini designed many theater productions in which the scenography and actors reflected emotions to evoke and parallel those of the audience. In 1635, his production of *The Two Academies* included an opposition between an academic painting studio and a sculpture studio, represented by two building with a space between that allowed both the actors and the audience to be within earshot of all events.[122] Similarly, in the Raimondi Chapel, Bernini positions figural busts and representations of the patrons as ideal examples of piety at a similar distance from the central event as the audience, which engages the viewers as participants in the pious worship of the saint. This relationship is also present in the distance between the ceiling and the audience or the

[121] Ibid., 26.
[122] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 35.

patrons. Both suggest a parallel between the viewers and the patrons as a sign to follow the example of the patrons in emulating the piety of the saint in his altarpiece and ceiling representations. Similarly, in *Of Two Theaters* in 1637, the prologue and epilogue consisted of Bernini as an actor to the real audience and his brother Luigi performing for a fictive audience on the opposite wall emitting laughs and responses, which comically echoed and prompted the reactions of the real audience.[123] This echo to prompt the real audience of the appropriate reaction is similar to the expression of the busts and their responsive devout worship of the divine realm.

Another form of scenography present in the Raimondi Chapel is the emphasis of architecture and light. Bernini's presentation of *apparati* for the *Quarant'ore* was another possible influence used to enhance the dynamism of the chapel and thereby evoke spiritual fervor in the audience. Although not all of them were recorded, Bernini's earliest production of an *apparato* for the *Quarant'ore* was at the Oratory of the Jesuits for Pietro Caravita in 1619 with a pyramidal enframement and a baldacchino holding the host as well as the first use of a hidden light source to illuminate the Eucharist.[124] The framing structure of the chapel around the altarpiece is similar to this in the intent to architecturally emphasize and enhance the monumentality of the central event as well as to filter light from a hidden source and illuminate the center in seemingly supernatural divine light. The sun machine is another example of Bernini's manipulation of light to produce an illusion of space and time. Bernini used a series of painted canvas or *papier-mâché* clouds mounted on wooden frames that moved across the stage with a pulley and lever system and directed the light from hidden sources and different colored

[123] Ibid., 39.
[124] Tonkovich, "Two Studies for the Gesù and a 'Quarantore' Design by Bernini," 36-37.

filters.[125] Moreover, Bernini's "sun machine" that emulated the rising sun became so popular as to be highly admired by the French court and requested by King Louis XIII through his minister Richelieu.[126] The attention to the impact of light to indicate the time of day, changes in scene, and particularly the mood or emotion of the performance added to the theatrical drama of the scenography. In a letter from 1635, Francesco Barberini describes Bernini's sun machine as "having rendered a beautiful view representing a stretch of sea with the sun rising little by little, casting its reflections in the water."[127] Bernini recreates the dramatic manipulation of light to create the same emotional impact of the viewers and achieve a form of illusion to portray the presence of divinity.

The Chapel Vault

Examining the chapel in further detail, the vault exhibits a scenographic approach to illusionism and connecting to the audience, as the ceiling appears to extend into a heavenly vision. The ceiling seemingly extends the chapel into another world through the motifs of St. Francis, putti, and salvation in the afterlife, seen both in the ceiling paintings and the ground level sculpture. St. Francis essentially undergoes the "notion of ascent from a physical to a spiritual plane, culminating in the saint's actual ascent in the central plane."[128] The vaulted ceiling of the apse contains the symbol of the Holy Spirit as a dove within the top medallion shape, which transitions into gilt rays in the direction of the architectural ribs, reflecting more light and symbolically representing divine illumination (Figure 23). At the bottom of the vault,

[125] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 27.
[126] Ibid., 24.
[127] Ibid., 24-25.
[128] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 47.

the ribs create sections that each contain painted scenes of St. Francis held up by two flanking putti, echoing the subject of the altarpiece. These paintings possibly recall the religious values of St. Francis, particularly with allegorical images of Franciscan virtues in relief around the bronze medallions that portray scenes of his life.[129] Similarly, the vault above the main space contains two more scenes of St. Francis held up by putti that flank a central painting of St. Francis ascending with angels into heaven, depicted in *di sotto in su* (Figure 24). In a sense, the chapel identifies St. Francis's ascension with that of Christ "to define both the saint's role and that of the chapel itself in the history of salvation" and to celebrate "the feast day of the saint to whom chapel is dedicated" and thus his martyrdom.[130] Overall, the vault and decoration appear to break the bounds of the chapel itself and heighten the supernatural, mystical quality of the space. The contrasting simplicity and monochromatic white color of the space below heightens the spectacularly detailed complexity and vibrant colors of the illusionist ceiling.[131]

The organization of the vault helps to further dramatize and solidify the harmony and spiritual force of the chapel. According to Lavin, Bernini attempted to combine three approaches: "the first tending to equate the objective with the imaginary realm, the second tending to erase the distinction between two- and three-dimensional form, the third tending to create the optical equivalent of a system of verb tenses."[132] In an effort to combine these concepts, Bernini used architecture, painting and sculpture within the vault to create a transition from the altarpiece of St. Francis to the heavenly world, balancing between the differences and similarities. The lack of color in the majority of the chapel distinguishes itself from the color in the vault, and though the chiaroscuro effect is not as apparent, the even diffusion of light in the

[129] Ibid., 40.
[130] Ibid., 48.
[131] Ibid., 40.
[132] Ibid., 45.

vault portrays a strong sense of divine illumination, emanating from the highest point. Moreover, this distinction balances with a sense of continuity through the slightly undulating, stucco sculptural and architectural details, which frame and emphasize the paintings yet also create a connection from the main structure to the vault. Similarly, there is also a balance of the opposing ideas of closed and open. The stucco architectural enclosures creating ribs along the vault contain an illusionistic opening to the sky as well as historical events that appear to recede into space beyond the confines of the chapel.[133] They are "simply painted to reveal heavenly airborne vision or deep perspective extension of actual space."[134] This also creates a harmonious extension between the space of the main chapel area and the vault through a vertical expression of illusionistic space that pulls the attention of the viewer up to the symbolic vision of divine light and the Holy Spirit.

The Altarpiece

The altarpiece draws most attention, as the relief is dramatically illuminated by a hidden source of light. This strong relief, which is entitled *Ecstasy of Saint Francis*, is additionally framed by columns, an entablature, and a segmental aedicule (Figure 25).[135] St. Francis is depicted with an emotionally overcome, fainting expression, and his lifelessly hanging body is held up by two angels ascending towards the raking light. While the subtle representation of the setting at Mount Alverna gives contrast to the deeply carved scene of the spiritual sensation experienced, the concavity of the background plane provides even more theatricality and three-

[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 41.
[135] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 106.

dimensionality through the result of a heightened chiaroscuro effect.[136] Overall, the dramatic contrast of light and dark as well as the agitated and exaggerated modeling of the figures allows the relief to both symbolically and physically protrude into the reality of the viewer and evoke the same devout, submissive emotion of the saint. The curvature inward towards the central group allows the figures to appear suspended and "to dissociate themselves optically as well as physically from the background."[137] In addition, the curvature counters the undulation of the apse, where the architecture and sculpture accumulates towards the center, building up to emphasize its three-dimensionality.[138] While a convex surface would appear confined and restricted from the viewer, the concavity of the altarpiece instead embraces the viewer with metaphorical outstretched arms towards the audience.[139] The fact that the source of the raking light is hidden only adds further drama that amplifies the effect of the chiaroscuro to improve legibility as well as the Baroque value of theatricality. The strong diagonal is also a Baroque dramatic effect drawing the eye upward to the hidden source of light, representing divine illumination and the spiritual fever of the narrative connecting into our world and space. Other sources of light at the time, mainly the flames of candles, would flicker and create a more mystical aura to engage the audience.

In order to achieve this theatrically and sense of spirituality, Bernini chose the climactic moment of St. Francis's ascension into heaven. While St. Francis is often associated with stigmatization and in effect Christ's sacrifice, the presence of angels and a seraph carrying the palm of martyrdom exemplify the miracle and triumph of the saint as a result of his faith and

[136] Ibid.
[137] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 37.
[138] Ibid., 33.
[139] James Smith Pierce, "Visual and Auditory Space in Baroque Rome," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 18, no. 1 (1959): 63.

love for God.[140] Depicting St. Francis in his salvation provides an evocative connection from the audience to the heaven, conveying the importance of the saint's piety. Moreover, his suspension in space becomes a "manifestation of mystical rapture alluding to a specific instance of supernatural potency of his devotion," which is recalled in biographies about the saint and witnesses of his radiating glow and levitation on Mount Alverna.[141] In addition, the agony experienced from receiving stigmata does not compare to the glorifying power of divine illumination. According to St. Bonaventure in *Life of St. Francis*, "the wondrous illumination of the body was a witness unto the wondrous enlightenment of his mind."[142] These testimonies attest to the intense devotion of St. Francis and were important in rendering the saint's salvation at Mount Alverna, which provided clear evidence of the miracle to affirm divine recognition of the Church. Moreover, the intensity and theatricality of the miracle evokes an emotional response upon the viewer to inspire religious piety.

Representation of the Patrons

The portrait busts and accompanying sarcophagi of the patrons add to the focus of the chapel on St. Francis, contemplating and reinvigorating his experience and the acting divine force (Figures 26-27). The busts embody two approaches to reach divine salvation, one as contemplative and the other as active.[143] There appears to be a complimentary relationship in the balance between the engrossment in intellectual thought and the engagement in prayer and supernatural experiences. The bust of Girolamo Raimondi by Martinelli between 1645 and 1646

[140] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 38.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid., 39.
[143] Ibid., 31.

appears on the left, because the family member died earlier and would likely be depicted as more idealized and with less distinctive features without the availability to study his specific features (Figure 28).[144] The bust shows Girolamo contemplatively reading a book, resting in his hands on a cushion with a finger inserted between pages and his head bowed towards the altar.[145] He appears intellectually focused with softly modeled facial features but little emotion in the expression and almost no agitation apparent in his garments. His actions represent the devout intellectual approach to achieving salvation, not in contrast to, but as a complement to the active approach of the other bust.

In the same position but on the opposite side is the second bust representative of the importance of active adoration of the divine. The bust of Francesco Raimondi by Nava Cellini from 1645 to 1648 faces the visitors like several of the busts of certain patrons in the Cornaro Chapel (Figure 29).[146] He holds a biretta in one hand and a rosary in the other; this is in accordance with the etiquette of a decree in 1638 to remove hats during a liturgical ceremony, which recognized the contemporary values and thus engaged the public.[147] The deep carving of the hair and distinct facial features indicate an attention to detail also apparent in the detail and sophistication of the lace and the contemporary style of the luxurious garment. Francesco's expression implies a sense of pride and self-importance due to his stiff, staged pose, in contrast to the more relaxed, subtle demeanor of Girolamo. This could possibly denote different personalities or the two components of the family, both intellectual and proud, especially with the large coat of arms hanging above both portraits. However, this also displays a physical suggestion of prayer and of a link between the audience and the divine realm. His clasped hands

[144] Ibid., 189.
[145] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 109.
[146] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 189.
[147] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 109.

and gesture of his hand clutching his chest express a physical act of adoration. Both approaches to devotion show that these witnesses to the saint's experience of salvation are "living fulfillments of the chapel's function as a place of intermediation between man and God."[148] They exemplify the essential acts of devotion to achieve salvation.

The sarcophagi below each bust echo the figures of the patrons above. The two sarcophagi, one below each portrait bust, were by Nicolas Sale and reference Bernini's recently completed tomb for Countess Matilda, since both share the same shape and classical influence.[149] Their bodies appear laid in their coffins without decay, which was a sign of sanctity found in the tombs of saints (Figures 30-31).[150] Although they appear unrealistic and lacking in three dimensionality and sophistication, the concept of depicting their dead bodies as nearly alive does not require naturalism. This paradox and the idea of a double-effigy tomb was originally a funerary tradition during the late Middle Ages, meant to document the deceased in both their "mortal and immortal state as his transitory physical being and the eternal dignity of office he had fulfilled in life."[151] This tradition from the Middle Ages was likely an influence directly from the Raimondi brothers, who possibly knew of the form from their original home, Genoa, or from contacts in France.[152] However, Bernini embraces and enhances the symbols of salvation that are typical of the limited medieval form to evoke piety in the viewers.[153] Bernini creates continuity within this theme of resurrection and salvation as a result of their devotion rather than the hope of resurrection alone. They echo the same transitory state from the death of the body to the eternal life of the soul.

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[148] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 23.
[149] Charles Avery and David Finn, *Bernini: Genius of the Baroque* (Boston: Bulfinch, 1997), 129.
[150] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 110.
[151] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 28.
[152] Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 73.
[153] Montagu, "Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts," 241.

In a similar way, the reliefs of each sarcophagi symbolize both the concern for resurrection and the stages of life leading to this transition. The first contains *momento vitae eternae*, which conveys the eventual resurrection of all worthy souls according to Ezekiel (Figure 32).[154] This interprets eternal life as the salvation of the soul achieved through the devout life exemplified by Saint Francis. The second sarcophagus relief displays three themes by which we achieve this resurrection, "Carnival, Lent, and Death," which encourages a devout life that ultimately ends with death (Figure 33).[155] However, in combination with the paradoxically alive and dead depiction of the deceased, the stages of life allude to the death of the body and the preservation of the soul. Thus, Bernini creates a continuous theme among the narratives of the patrons as well as Saint Francis to inspire spiritual fervor in the audience through models of devotion.

Among various figures of lively humans rendered with classical proportions and elaborate drapery, there are numerous skeletons appearing animated and even alive. The scene was likely influenced by a Mantuan engraving of 1554, which similarly depicts the scene through horrifying images of the personification of death.[156] To counter the illusion of the saintly liveliness of the bodies of the patrons, Bernini includes this reminder of death and mortality or *momento mori* to reference the importance of salvation of the soul in the afterlife as a result of choices before death. Bernini emphasizes the theatricality through the harsh effect of chiaroscuro clearly defining the silhouette of the skeletons, and through the dramatic narrative legible to most viewers. He commonly repeats the motifs of *momento mori* throughout many of his designs for chapels in order to illustrate the patron's devotion during his lifetime to religious values that

[154] Ibid.
[155] Wittkower and Guidolotti, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 215.
[156] Avery and Finn, *Bernini: Genius of the Baroque*, 129.

attain salvation in the afterlife. Originally, Bernini designed a low relief within a medallion shape showing a single skeleton flying over the sarcophagi of the patrons; however, the final composition creates more transition between the various sculptural images.[157] The two putti with torches hold open the lids of the casket to reveal the dead, creating a gradient from the live portrait busts to the seemingly lively corpses to the images of the dead in the frieze. Thus, the sarcophagi echo the theme of the salvation and the transition from life to death to heavenly afterlife, as seen in the altarpiece as well.

Conclusion

The Raimondi Chapel is an early example of Bernini's application of theatrical staging to evoke emotions through illusionism, heavenly light, and the portrayal of a spiritual presence linked to the physical presence of the event. In addition, the dedication to this specific saint became one of many to support the Counter-Reformation effort to commemorate saints for their evidence of God's recognition of the Catholic Church and their faith. While some elements remain traditional in symbolism, the composition and staging of the chapel reflects Bernini's innovation and elevation of Baroque theatricality.

[157] Ibid., 130.

CHAPTER III: THE CORNARO CHAPEL

Introduction

Bernini designed and constructed the Cornaro Chapel between 1645 and 1652 in dedication to Saint Teresa of Avila, rendering her salvation to produce a compelling, harmonious connection between the earthly and the divine. Cardinal Federico Cornaro commissioned the chapel on behalf of his family, employing Bernini for his ability to elicit intense spiritual devotion through his chapels. The chapel is located at Santa Maria della Vittoria in the left transept of the church (Figure 34). The composition consists of a central figure group depicting the ecstasy of St. Teresa, two adjacent figure groups of witnessing Cornaro family members, a lower altarpiece at the level of the audience, and a vault. The application of theatrical scenography in the Cornaro Chapel harmonizes the complex array of components and enhances the symbolism and connection between our world and the divine.

Choosing a newly canonized Spanish saint was controversial yet inevitably effective, as her example solidified proof of God's endorsement of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Federico Cornaro first gained the rights to the chapel in 1647 and chose Teresa of Avila, who died in 1582 and after undergoing a forty-year inquest, was beatified in 1614, and canonized in 1622.[158] The twenty-five-year difference helped the Church gain support of recent and thus more devout followers of the saint with her success still relevant and significant to Catholics. Located in Santa Maria della Vittoria adjoined with a Carmelite convent, the chapel physically reflects her attribute of founding the Discalced reform of the Carmelite order.[159] Teresa specifically became

[158] Call, "Boxing Teresa," 34.
[159] Ibid.

a saint for promoting religious activism and conducting miracles, such as undergoing mystical visions. In addition to providing manifestations of her inspiring spiritual connection with God and his transference of divine powers to her in miraculous healings, her friend, Juan de la Cruz, wrote an extensive collection of her experiences that popularized Carmelite values in Italy, such as a life of poverty and devotion to the discalced order.[160] An establishment of her faith in Italy was vital to gain the support of the Catholic Church. Cornaro specifically built relations with the Carmelites, as these missionary seminaries became an established order under his patriarchate in Venice in the late sixteenth century and were supervised Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith.[161] Further, her exemplary piety could provide a relatable and inspiring account of a contemporary or modern figure, suggesting more convincing proof of possible salvation for anyone of her time.

Nevertheless, St. Teresa was also infamous for her controversial associations and misinterpretations. She was considered unsuitable as a mystic, a sexual woman, a descendant of Jews, a believer in the direct reception and experience of God, and an anti-institutionalist with the Carmelite Order's endeavor for autonomy.[162] Her visions of God appeared to disclaim the hierarchy of the Church and the Pope's position as the single closest connection to God. In her inquisition, beginning in 1576, the *letrados* or learned men of Spanish religious figures were suspicious of her potential heresy and immoral sexual femininity.[163] However, the ultimate decision to canonize the saint against all opposing evidence and the extreme length of the inquisition validates and legitimizes the values of the saint, regardless of further scrutiny or doubt. Her asceticism, vow of poverty in the name of Christ, and model of devout faith justified

[160] Ibid., 35.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid., 36.

her merit for canonization and emphasized the Church as an institution founded by Saint Peter and sanctioned by God.

The Chapel Composition

In consideration of the controversy and potential of the saint, Bernini sought to rectify possibilities of misinterpretation to effectively design a spiritually enlightening chapel. As a result, he rendered an illusionistic and symbolic presence of light and heavenly glory as God's sanction of the event, St. Teresa as a passive recipient of God's love, and the Cornaro family members as witnesses and adherents to her vision (Figure 35).[164] The space contains three main divisions, the vault, the altarpiece and adjacent features, and the altarpiece and floor, all of which embody the connection from the heavens, the medial or transitory experience of the saint, and the earthly ground at the level of the viewers. Thus, St. Teresa embraces the role of connecting earthly followers to the awe-inspiring heavenly presence, eliciting faith through her example and the enlightenment of an impelling divine force. Although the structure itself if forty-five feet high, twenty-four feet wide, and eleven feet deep, the illusionism of the *bel composto* elements, sculpture, architecture, and painting, harmonize to make the space appear larger and even extend beyond its confines into the heavenly world.[165] These elements coincide with the three divisions of the space to portray a hierarchy, empowering the divine over the saint and the saint over the viewers. This is due to the triangular composition, reminiscent of the trinity as a shape with three points, orchestrated with the high narrowed apex at the symbolic source of divine light, widening slightly at the central figure group, and grounded at the widest point at the floor and altar. Within

[164] Ibid., 37.
[165] Ibid.

the center, the altarpiece draws a parallel in a smaller scaled triangular composition, framing the saint with a pediment topped with a golden crucifix or God presiding over the event.[166] The entrance arch, similar to that of a theatrical production, frames and contains a "microcosm" of heavenly glory that becomes accessible to the viewers.[167] The main structure thus provides an initial clear interpretation of the chapel and avoids reintroducing previous controversies.

In addition to the underlying meaning of the composition, the structural elements within the composition help emphasize the focal point of the chapel. While the horizontality of the cornices divides the space into the main three parts with horizontals between the vault and main space and the altarpiece and altar, there are two verticals to also divide the space into three vertical divisions. These connect the three horizontal divisions, because they align with one another, whether the perimeter of the altar, the columns framing the altarpiece, or the polychrome inlay echoing the window's shape. In the middle horizontal zone, the panels adjacent to the altarpiece appear like "door-like panels at back and crown-like, bejeweled pediments…[that] allude to twelve gates of Heavenly Jerusalem, the entrances to paradise."[168] This then further extends out to the audience with the sculptural busts of the Cornaro family on the side walls, which amplifies a central horizontal in contrast to the central vertical much like the shape of a cross. The outward extension envelops the viewers, as though the curving surface embraces the audience with "stage-wings" or "outstretched arms" that engage the viewers and amplify the theatricality.[169] However, the verticality more significantly emphasizes an upward movement of the saint floating on a cloud towards heavenly light.[170] Furthermore, the position of

[166] Ibid.
[167] Montagu, "Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts," 241.
[168] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 90.
[169] Pierce, "Visual and Auditory Space in Baroque Rome," 64.
[170] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 60.

these elements can be best seen at a point marked twenty-five feet away, where the composition becomes optically complete and the source of divine authority is most effectively portrayed in the scheme.[171] Overall, the oval setting of the chapel could reflect the theatrical staging of a "*concertato* that totally surrounds the beholder…[where] stucco figures of cherubs and fishermen are place above windows at the base of a cupola that springs directly from the continuous oval wall, thereby enclosing the beholder in one unbroken volume of nave and cupola."[172] The architectural and sculptural structure thus not only frame but also enhance the theatricality of the chapel.

The choice in color and material distinguishes specific features from the entirety of the complex composition. There is an especially emphasized focus on the central figure group with the vibrant colors of the green canopy, the blue and red marble, and the luminous alabaster background, all of which reflect the bright yellow light casted from the window onto their highly polished smooth surfaces.[173] In addition, the panels inserted between the altar and flanking columns contrast the more lightly toned surrounding panels for a sharper distinction between the projecting and background features as well as a greater accentuation of the chapels verticality (Figure 36).[174] In effect, the eye of the viewer is drawn upward towards the monumentality of the divine above, symbolized by the light of the vault's lantern. The diffusion of light onto these dark surfaces amplifies their saturation and was possibly more mystically illuminated by the light of flickering candles. Moreover, the use of old marble and *spoglia* from Jerusalem in the cladding of the chapel recalls the heavenly splendor of the city quoted in Tobit, chapter 13, verse 16, explaining, "For Jerusalem shall be built up with sapphires and emeralds, and precious

[171] Call, "Boxing Teresa," 38.
[172] Pierce, "Visual and Auditory Space in Baroque Rome," 63.
[173] Wittkower and Guidolotti, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman*, 25.
[174] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* vol. 1, 88.

stone."[175] In addition to these colors, the painted golden rays parallel the triangular composition of the altarpiece and chapel and contrast the rich gem colors with iridescent, textured gold gilding. The overall warm yellow tones emphasize the warm light meant to symbolize the divine force.

In the Cornaro Chapel, Bernini continued to use hidden sources of natural light to direct and emphasize light against darkness in attempt to embody revelation and the divinity of God's presence. One of the main hidden skylights is the overhead window above the altarpiece, hidden behind the entablature of the framing pediment (Figure 37). The glass window was originally yellow to provide seemingly gold illumination onto the white marble to embodying divine luminescence.[176] The gold tinged lighting thus echoed the painted gold rays paralleling and intensifying the direction of light. Furthermore, in 1998, restoration exposed the original existence of a channel through the interior of the architrave within the niche that used reflectors similar to mirrors to redirect light from the oculus back onto the sculpture; this was confirmed in a letter from Francesco Borromini, whose Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza altar meant to capture the "splendour" of St. Teresa through "mirrors or steel reflectors."[177] The amplification of light onto the altarpiece dramatizes the miraculous glory of the salvation of St. Teresa. According to Warwick, the additional contrast to the dark interior of the church "seemed to present the divine, 'the light that shineth in the darkness' (John 1:5)," "heavenly splendour" and "a miracle of faith."[178] Thus, the manipulation of architecture within the sculptural and painted altarpiece to create a heavenly aureole furthers the intensity of divine light, evoking faith in the viewers.

[175] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 60.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid., 77.

Similarly, other sources of natural light in the vault support the association of light from above with heavenly glory. At the top of the vault, a vertical stained glass window diffuses light into the chapel by enclosing the niche in light that then filters through the oculus down onto the sculpture group.[179] The addition of electrical lighting and alterations of the original windows affect Bernini's original intention. In an early preparatory drawing, Bernini used radiating lines to illustrate the explosion of light emanating from windows as well as the altarpiece, establishing natural light and the fictive light from gilded rays as one in the same and essential to unite the chapel (Figure 38).[180] The high window against the back wall was originally dark stained glass but was later substituted with clear glass, which now detracts from the concentration of light from the oculus, especially with the inclusion of electrical light.[181] Although the modern addition of electric light accentuate extraordinary details otherwise appearing subtle and less complex, it does not illustrate the miraculous dynamism of isolated light only present at the will of God. Bernini's intention was to design a mystical, supernatural setting, where "softly tinted figures would flow vaguely like ghostly apparitions midway between nothingness and reality."[182] Furthermore, concentrating a downward stream of light emphasizes the verticality not only onto the sculpture group but also connecting the dove of the Holy Spirit just below the entablature hiding the oculus and the altar below, establishing the sanctity and significance of the Eucharist. However, Bernini does not necessarily manipulate the dome to hide the oculus, but the architectural frame of the entrance does obstruct the dome at a certain distance.[183] Bernini

[179] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 104.
[180] Richard Cocke, "A Drawing by Bernini for the Cornaro Chapel, S. Maria Della Vittoria," *The Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 833 (1972): 553.
[181] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 104.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.

orchestrated the design, provided that the chapel be interpreted from a perspective encompassing the whole and that the architectural details remain unchanged.

The Influence of Theater

Bernini experience with theater scenography and *apparati* from the 1630s into the 1640s greatly influences the Cornaro Chapel, especially with respect to lighting and its power to evoke emotions. In 1638, Bernini's *apparato* on the first Sunday of Advent for Pauline Chapel at the Vatican Palace further enhanced the theatricality of the ceremony using a hidden light source in combination with illusionistic clouds, which became a common motif for these displays over the next fifty years.[184] In addition, Bernini used more than two thousand lamps to amplify the glorified light of the divine with cupped, beaten metal reflectors that radiated light seemingly from the Eucharist itself and contrasted the darkness of the main church space.[185] He also adapted the medieval tradition of *sacre rappresentazioni* or sacred drama, rendering clouds as the divine transport between earthly and heavenly worlds and extending the space of the viewers into the heavenly realm of the art.[186] These theater techniques in the context of religious commissions were thus applied to Bernini's religious chapels, a permanent form of a theater performance in support of the Counter-Reformation.

In addition, light could be manipulated to allude to fire, floods, and storms, through various sources of light. In one play in 1645 called *La Fiera*, several actors held torches and one in particular set his torch against the stage decorations, which consumed the stage in fire but was

[184] Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," 227.
[185] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 47.
[186] Ibid.

put out at Bernini's signal and transformed into a garden scene.[187] The fire was not intended to be a representation of Hell, as done previously, but to create a genuine threat from an accidental fire that evoked real fear within the audience and thus effectively engaged their participation and emotions.[188] Also, the powerful lighting transforms the world of the viewers into a paradise, similar to the Cornaro Chapel's divine illumination that evokes fear of God's power, suggesting the fire of his love expressed in Teresa's testament, and engages the viewer in the amazing metamorphism of earth into divine through light. In his 1641 production of *L'innocenza difesa*, Bernini used real fireworks and an illusionistic sunset to enhance the setting of the Castel Sant'Angelo.[189] This presented a balance between reproducing a familiar idea to the viewers and elevating the scene through exaggerated and awe-inspiring lighting effects. Bernini's attention to light in the chapel reflects the same treatment used in his theatrical displays to evoke emotion and awe.

Bernini also applied his knowledge of scenography to show illusionistic depth and progression of the space of the audience into the extending realm of the art. In *Of Two Theaters in 1637*, he used a stage as mirror to reflect the audience, using actors standing beyond the proscenium arches, sculptural reliefs, and painted figures in the illusionistic background that gradually progressed in this sequence to extend the space of viewers into the art.[190] In addition, the ending reveals a perspective background of palaces and gardens at night with carriages in the distance as well as actors entering carriages, prompting the audience to do the same.[191] Furthermore, in a play performed in 1637 and 1638, Bernini introduced a "play-within-a-play,"

[187] Jackson I. Cope, "Bernini and Roman Commedie Ridicolose," *PMLA* 102, no. 2 (1987): 181.
[188] Irving Lavin, Review of *Fontana di Trevi, Commedia inedita* by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Cesare d'Onofrio, *The Art Bulletin* 46, no. 4 (1964): 752.
[189] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 148.
[190] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 39.
[191] Ibid.

narrating two stories within one plot.[192] The audience would watch one plays while overhearing a different audience's reaction to a second play.[193] These plays reflect the role and reaction of the audience within the play to encourage the same in the real audience. The Cornaro Chapel uses the on-looking Cornaro family members with reactive emotions that embody the appropriate emotions of the viewer. Moreover, the layering of plays within a play is similar to the layered realities of the chapel to create cohesion and progression of the story.

Bernini also understands the importance of illusionistic settings and a convincing fusion of ideas and art forms to evoke emotion and overwhelm the viewer. In *Fontana di Trevi MDCVLII* performed in April of 1643, the plot tells a story of a master of scenography and his sky mechanism as an invention of Baroque illusionism.[194] Using the machine to produce illusionistic settings reflects the similar intention of Bernini in his chapel to produce a fictive sky that appears to extend beyond the space of the viewers and the stage. Bernini's untitled play from 1644 prompted biographer John Evelyn to say in 1644, "the Caveliero Bernini gave a Publique opera...wherein he painted the scenes, cut the Statues, invented the engine, composed the Musique writ the Comedy, and built the Theater."[195] It became clear that at this point Bernini mastered the fusion of art and theater scenography. The illusionism of his *apparato* in the Pauline chapel shows "figures breaking through the frame of the window" similar to the *putti* that overlap that window of the chapel to appear three-dimensional and extending from a realm beyond the confines of architecture.[196] Praised for his skill in illusionism, Bernini continued to apply these skills in his illusionistic setting and narrative of the Cornaro Chapel.

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[192] Lavin, Review, 571.
[193] Cope, "Bernini and Roman Commedie Ridicolose," 181.
[194] Lavin, Review, 569.
[195] Cope, "Bernini and Roman Commedie Ridicolose," 181.
[196] Cocke, "A Drawing by Bernini for the Cornaro Chapel, S. Maria Della Vittoria," 553.

The Chapel Vault

The illusion of the chapel vault extending beyond the confines of the chapel space alludes to the theatrical portrayal of a supernatural force connecting the heavens and earth. Lavin confirms this notion explaining that "the spectator inevitably accepts the vault as real and intact while the apparition seems to filter through the masonry by a process of ectoplasmic osmosis."[197] The vault overall combines the idea of an architectural canopy as well as the classical concept of the *tempietto* to create a temple-like setting that seemingly recedes into the light of the oculus and the space beyond.[198] The white stucco ornamentation of flying putti and cherubs along illusionistic clouds emerge from the sky and surround the dove of the Holy Spirit without the restrictions of the architectural features (Figure 39). The fresco of the Holy Spirit by Guidobaldo Abbatini appears to illuminate the miraculous event in the chapel space below as well as reveals the images in the floor, the Good and the Bad Thief, to extend the image of heavenly glory to the earthly realm of the viewers.[199] In addition, the angels carry floral garlands that superimposed on the architecture, framing the entrance and arches of the chapel to dematerialize and dissolve the physical bounds, connecting our realm to the spiritual force beyond.[200] The bodies overlap even the varied dimension of the cornice and optically dissolve the supportive structure of the curved vault and two-dimensional window, which seem to become swallowed into a receding aureole of light and ultimately into the heavens (Figure 40). Moreover, the angels rhythmically float in contrapposto and foreshortened poses, seemingly suspended above the viewer and appearing to protrude out farther beyond their actual shallow

[197] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 129.
[198] Ibid., 86.
[199] Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 74.
[200] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 129.

relief dimension. While their bodies fade into the gilt background, they also carry an inscription "*nisi coelum creassem ob te solam crearum*," meaning "If I had not created heaven I would create it for you alone."[201] This perhaps suggests the importance of devotion and faith to achieve salvation, as only faith can make the glory of heaven attainable.

The vault also displays relief scenes of the life of Teresa, merging with the illusion of angels floating down on clouds. In addition to representing "literally and figuratively Teresa's golden past," the gold painting of the narrative reliefs illustrates a unification with the clouds and angels of heaven carrying this substructure.[202] The gold also refers to the enlightened life of Teresa, glorified directly by the juxtaposing dove of the Holy Spirit and the corresponding gold rays of divine light shining onto the final image of Teresa in her salvation. Also, the references to events in her life support the reasons for her soul's salvation through exemplary traits of a devout worshipper**.** The scene below and left of the window narrates the childhood experiences of Teresa and her younger brother seeking to spread their faith and achieve martyrdom in the land of Moors, while the right scene illustrates the saint kneeling before an image of Christ conducting flagellation and self-mortification.[203] On the left wall, Christ appears to her in prayer at church suspended in clouds, putting a crown on her head, and praising her devotion to the Virgin Mary, and the far right displays her vision of Christ taking her right hand in marriage and holding a nail of the cross, as recounted in one of her *Relations*.[204] These scenes are all instances of her individual development of faith rather than miracles she performed, as her salvation was a reward for her life of good deeds more than for her visions. Instead, the Counter-Reformation attempted to encourage private experiences being made public, such as her endeavor for

[201] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 1.
[202] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 127.
[203] Ibid., 129.
[204] Ibid., 130.

martyrdom and her genuine devotion to penitence, to provide merit for her acknowledgment by the Church and by divine grace.[205] Therefore, the illusion of the vault carries the symbolism of the saint's devotion to evoke the same piety in others.

The Altarpiece

The altarpiece composition alludes to Teresa's own account of her death-like experience and visions. Although Teresa's life of austere, faithful devotion determined her fate to enter the heavens, Bernini chooses the climactic moment of the vision to display a theatrical dynamic event linking our reality with the divine realm. The angel appears to her, piercing her soul with a flaming golden arrow of God's love (Figure 41). In her testimony, she says 'the pain was so great that I screamed aloud; but simultaneously I felt such infinite sweetness that I wished the paint to last eternally. It was not bodily, but physical pain, although it affected to a certain extent also the body. It was sweetest caressing of the soul by God."[206] Her levitation, reclining against heavenly floating clouds, reflects the "mystical transfer of holiness" ignited by the arrow's point, the vehicle of her salvation.[207] The angel stands over Teresa in full control, channeling the light of God radiating down and fused into the tool of the golden arrow. The resulting wounds represent both literal and metaphorical afflictions causing death as a submission to human mortality and to a union with God.[208] Floating on a cloud supports the figure and her metaphorical rise into the heavens but also provides a tangible literal quality, as the human world appears connected to the heavens by the sky. In addition, saints undergoing divine rapture appear

[205] Ibid., 131.
[206] Wittkower and Guidolotti, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque,* 25.
[207] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 126.
[208] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 73.

on clouds as a newfound tradition of Counter-Reformation devotional imagery in art representative of salvation and a transition into heaven.[209] The figures thus support the notion of a levitation not in space but as a means of linking the human world with the heavens.

Teresa's reclining pose carries a variety of essential meanings. The saint is typically shown on one or both knees in receiving a vision, but this climactic dynamic event of her soul's salvation accumulates in a more theatrical surrender to God's love, manifested in heart palpitations and the ecstatic rapture of her inner physical being.[210] Moreover, a more passionate position with projecting arms or energized gestures would propel her role into a more active than submissive state.[211] Her reclining position leaves her vulnerable while also suggesting a state of physical death, with only her inner soul enduring the rapturous, intimate wounds from the love of God. The pain of divine love traditionally presents itself through wounds that enact a continuous stage of dying until the eventual spiritual union between the worshipper and God.[212] Similarly, Warwick compares Teresa to Caravaggio's *Ecstasy of St. Francis* for his convulsing torso and head as well as his weightless limp arms and legs, triggered with the intense divine light animating his spirit and weakening his pose.[213] Furthermore, her reclining pose parallels that of the classical images of Venus to not equate but in fact distinguish Teresa as a amply clothed saint aflame with the love of God rather than a nude sensual image of a female engrossed with sexual desire.[214] Teresa's experience appears more spiritual than bodily and in fact wounding her mortal bounds to portray the transformation of her human form into her enlightened ascending soul.

[209] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 119.
[210] Ibid., 109.
[211] Ibid., 110.
[212] Ibid., 113.
[213] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 37.
[214] Ibid., 69.

Similarly, Teresa's energized drapery embodies her inner rapture in contrast to the deathly appearance of her limp body. Her drapery conceals her human form underneath, especially her femininity and any implication of her sexuality to avoid doubt in the presence of the divine force in her experience. The "plenitude connotes majesty and beatific magnificence but also fullness of her spiritual knowledge" as reflective of her passion and devotion.[215] Bernini specifically exaggerated the rigidity and animation of the deep undercut marble to embody the rippling movement of her inner spiritual rapture coursing through the fabric as it courses through her soul.[216] In other words, the drapery "tells the story of transverberation through pure energy states."[217] In addition, the deep carving heightens the impact of divine light through the resulting dark shadows, which emphasizes the direction and agitated energy of the movement. In contrast, the smoothness of Teresa's face suggests the weakening of the body to allude to an inner experience rather than an outer physical one. The effect of the angel is similar with the smooth lines of a sympathetic, joyful expression and drapery swaying with a direction evocative of a soft wind.

In addition, her facial expression reflects the psychological spiritual enlightenment and submission to the will of God. Her closed eyes, her open mouth, and the softness of facial features, such as her delicate smooth skin and relaxed brows, illustrate an ambiguity more reflective of death or surrender than pleasure or pain that could be construed as so. This avoids any association of sexual connotations and creates an undertone of inner rapture in the soul's union with God. Moreover, her features resemble those of Bernini's *Truth*, reflecting the sun as Teresa reflects the splendorous divine light of God.[218] Moreover, her submissive defenselessness

[215] Ibid., 67.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 111.
[218] Ibid., 112.

allows the vehicle of God's will to exercise complete control over Teresa.[219] Consequently, the hovering angel channels the divine illumination, standing in a dominating position over Teresa's passive, vulnerable reclining figure (Figure 42). However, there is a suggestion of sympathy in the "childlike innocence with an undertone of psychological sophistication that heightens the pregnancy of the event because the active participant understands the implications of his deed."[220] The androgyny and rejoice of the angel in this act of salvation reflects the same attitude of the observing angels, dismissing a sexual relationship between the saint and the angel. Thus, the facial features and expression of the saint and angel in the altarpiece avoid possible misinterpretations and allude to the joyous miracle of salvation.

The analogy to the sacrament of the Eucharist in the relief below altarpiece attests to the saint's emphasis of this specific Church doctrine. The association with a Church doctrine supports the institutional beliefs, eliminating suspicion of her anti-institutionalism and evoking faith in not only God but the Catholic Church as well. The gilt bronze and lapis lazuli relief of the Last Supper below the saint on the altar illustrates the apostles receiving communion and advocates the practice of this sacrament (Figure 43).[221] During her lifetime, the sacramental administration of the host ignited Teresa's ecstatic transverberation depicted above and her vision of Christ resurrected, causing her levitations, faints, and pseudo wounds that imitated the pain and not the physicality of those of Christ.[222] Setting the sculpture group depicting her miraculous experience within an oval shaped niche framed by temple architecture even resembles the typical tabernacle or altar setting of the objects containing the host.[223] The physical

[219] Call, "Boxing Teresa," 36.
[220] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 112.
[221] Ibid., 125.
[222] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 54.
[223] Ibid.

juxtaposition and circumstantial association of the reliefs depiction of the administration of the Eucharist and Teresa's experience provides a vertical progression upwards. This suggests that worshippers on earth's ground must participate in prayer and the Eucharist at the altar of the church to achieve the faith of Teresa and eventually reach the gates of heaven. To Teresa, the liturgical practice of the Eucharist metaphorically represented entering the doors to heaven, saying "the door is prayer" in accordance with the book of John, chapter 10, verse 9 stating that Jesus said, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved."[224] Thus, the harmonious synthesis of faithful prayer and the act of the Eucharist or receiving Christ opens the door to enlightenment and salvation.

Representation of the Patrons

The design of the side walls with sculptural busts provides a visual presence of the family of the patrons, who witness the event with the credibility of their own faith. Cardinal Federico Cornaro obtained the opportunity to devote the chapel to his father and himself as well as six ancestors, who served the Church in the same position as himself and his father who ruled as the doge of Venetian Republic.[225] Their particular compositional display poses these subjects as witnesses, recognizing the saint's exception devotion to her faith. The family sits in balconies much like stage boxes that, while not existing at the time, created the illusion of extending into our human reality, despite the inability of these figures to view the miracle or altar from their perspective.[226] In addition, flanking the altarpiece with images of the patrons recalls the organization of a triptych, which consists of three painted panels with the two outer depicting the

[224] Ibid., 57.
[225] Call, "Boxing Teresa," 34.
[226] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 25.

patrons and was popular among famous Flemish painters, such as Rubens.[227] These two boxes contain four figures each and mirror one another from across the chapel to reflect the appropriate response of the viewers, bringing focus to the central event. Moreover, the background relief framed the Cornaro family members within a church setting, providing an illusionistic extension passing the physical bounds of the walls and coordinating with the optical perspective of the viewers. In addition, the large coffered barrel vault, the rhythmic columns, the composite capitals, and niches within the aisles are reminiscent of Bernini's architecture at Saint Peter's Basilica and the grand staircase at the Vatican Palace.[228] In effect, the Cornaro family members become a metaphorical extension of the Church and their officiation of the miraculous event occurring in the chapel.

Also, the figures portray emotions and gestures to support the event with the rational, intellectual recognition and interpretation required for canonization. The right box holds the donor and three ancestral cardinals with the closest member to the altarpiece reflectively observing the event and the last turning to Federico and another on his right engaged in discourse (Figure 44).[229] The figures thus balance between the intellectual display of contemplative conversation and the inner spiritual interpretation, which is not understood through an emotional response but a rational understanding of the faith. Specifically, Frederico, likely the only bust fully sculpted by Bernini, distinctively expresses his thoughtful and contemplative reaction, engrossed in the event with the directional gesture of his gaze and the raising of his left arm towards the saint.[230] On the left wall, the box contains two cardinals in conversation, one absorbed in a text, and the last gazing intellectually at central event (Figure 45). The figure

[227] Blunt, "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," 76.
[228] Call, "Boxing Teresa," 38.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.

closest to the altar and gazing out is Federico's father, Giovanni, similarly contemplating the event as the figure directly opposite to him in the right box.[231] The symmetry and mirroring impact of the boxes with observation closest to the altar and discourse at the farthest point could convey the appropriate progression of thought, which is to first independently and rationally observe the event and secondly to improve interpretations through conversation. Thus, the inclusion of witnesses who take an intellectual approach to the event solidifies Teresa's official sanction by the Church and avoids the emotionally fearful suspicion of the saint during the inquisition.

Supporting Symbolism

The ornamentation of the floor further provides insight into the symbolism and illusion of the chapel. Similar to a Renaissance technique used by Niccolò Tribolo in Michelangelo's Laurentian Library, the flooring mosaic technique, called marble intarsia or *opus sectile*, organizes the composition of the floor as a mirror or reflective image of the overhead dome, such as the groin or coffer patterning (Figure 46).[232] This technique provides a feature of unity within the entirety of the design and portrays a link between the ceiling heavens and the ground of the earth. In addition, Bernini applied the Hellenistic and Roman style of a polychrome mosaic scheme interrupted with illusionistic scenes and the association of the narratives or symbols with the physical context of the ground, alluding to death and burial.[233] While the geometric decorative inlay mirrors the architectural structure of the ceiling, the narratives of two skeletons express a greater theme within the chapel to engage and physically connect with the viewers.

[231] Ibid.
[232] Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts,* 134.
[233] Ibid.

Bernini incorporated an early Christian mortuary tradition of illustrating an image of the deceased buried below in the inlay design, but in this case, the floor provides a slightly altered glimpse with an illusionistic hole and life-like skeletons.[234] The black holes contain upper busts of the skeletons to achieve the gestures of their arms, their facial expressions, and the corresponding pose of their upper bodies. Their bodies thus appear to dissipate into the ground below, extending the bounds of the chapel into our earthly reality.

The symbols within the narrative scenes support the evocation of enlightenment and piety through a spiritual connection between the heavens and earth. Normally, a *momento mori* alluding to the decay of the human body suggests the morbid and grim inevitability of death, warning humans of mortality and their fate of either salvation or damnation. The gestures of these particular skeletons portray "not decay and damnation but promises of reintegration and redemption" achieved following the Last Judgment through devotion.[235] While one gazes towards the miraculous event with hands clasped in faithful prayer, the other opens his arms wide and raises them up towards the saint as well (Figure 47). This second skeleton is in accordance with the visual expression of eschatology, where the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist in the Last Judgment flank Christ with the same gesture as dictated in Urban VIII's hymn to Teresa.[236] The floor images, though representative of the viewer's immortality among all humans, express the capability to obtain salvation through faith, as exemplified by Teresa.

[234] Ibid., 135.
[235] Ibid., 136.
[236] Ibid.

Conclusion

Bernini applies his knowledge of theater to convince the audience of a progression into the heavens and the transformation of Teresa from an earthly being to a soul ascending to the God. From the painting and sculpture to the architecture and structure, "the various media are fused just as the various levels of reality - psychological, chronological, and tangible - melt into one."[237] In this way, Bernini celebrates Teresa's faith and her reward of eternal life to inspire piety in the viewers.

[237] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 135.

CHAPTER IV: THE ALTIERI CHAPEL

Introduction

The Altieri Chapel is another example of Bernini's application of theatrical scenography in the devotional celebrating of a saint. Dedicated to Beata Ludovica Albertoni, the chapel unifies the world of the viewer with that of the transitory state of the saint. Bernini achieves a balance by distinguishing the earthy, the transitory, and the divine as well as seamlessly transitioning between different realities to evoke piety for the reward of eternal salvation. As in the Raimondi and Cornaro chapels, the saint experiences a mystical union with God, enhanced through the use of hidden sources of light and the fusion of sculpture, painting, and architecture. Although completed late in his career, the Altieri Chapel shows continuity of innovation and creativity through theater and scenography to instill the same spiritual fervor in support of the effort of the Counter-Reformation.

The Altieri Chapel was designed and constructed between 1671 and 1674 towards the end of Bernini's life. It is located in the fourth chapel of the left aisle in San Francesco a Ripa in the Trastevere region of Rome (Figure 48).[238] The patron, Cardinal Paluzzi degli Albertoni, was related to Pope Clement X of the Altieri family by marriage and took the name Altieri for himself and the chapel, dedicated to his ancestor Ludovica Albertoni.[239] She is not only recognized for her devout faith but also the pious qualities of charity, humility, and caring nature towards the poor. Ludovica was born in 1473 into a wealthy family and married to a nobleman, Giacomo Della Cetera, until she became a widow and vowed to devote her life to the Observant

[238] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 296.
[239] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 120.

order of Saint Francis in Trastevere.[240] Despite her youthful determination to remain a virgin, the death of her husband when she was 33 left her with three daughters but also the opportunity to devote the rest of her life to acts of piety, such as serving the poor and thereby becoming known "mother of the poor" in admiration for Saint Elizabeth of Hungary.[241] Living in intentional poverty and penance, she devoted her life to the values of the Franciscan order, of which she joined the tertiary order at the church of San Francesco a Ripa, surrendering all her own wealth hidden in bread to the ill, injured, and needy in Trastevere.[242] She died of fever at sixty years old and was immediately yet unofficially recognized as a beata and saint.[243] Her chapel celebrates the moment of her death and her rapturous union with God, transitioning into the heavenly realm before the viewer.

The official recognition of her sainthood and commemoration of her life and faith in the chapel speaks to the long-held efforts of the Counter-Reformation. Though long after her death in 1533, her cult following was sanctioned in 1671.[244] This established her sainthood under the new strict rules for canonization from Urban VIII's papacy that still carried considerable weight towards the end of the century. In this process of beatification that affirms the acceptance of an individual into heaven, the Church required undisputable evidence to avoid accusations of corruption, impropriety, or negligence. Important witnesses attesting to the miraculous experiences and faith of Ludovica included nuns from the convent of Tor de' Specchi, which was founded by Saint Francesca Romana and demonstrates a possible connection to Bernini with his sister being part of the order.[245] Another witness, a servant to the saint during her fatal illness,

[240] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 297.
[241] Shelley Karen Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 4.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 297.
[244] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 120.
[245] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 298.

described her as "full of joy" as though she had "returned from paradise" in accordance to a spiritual union with God and a joyous peaceful death.[246] Some compare her life to those of Saint Teresa of Avila and Maddalena dei Pazzi, emphasizing her mysticism and ecstatic visions as described in a Franciscan biography by Friar Giovanni Paolo from 1672 and a Carmelite panegyric by Bernardino Santini called I voli d'Amore or Flights of Love.[247] It is by these testimonies and the legitimate authority of the Church's recognition that Ludovica becomes a celebrated model of ideal faith, as illustrated in Bernini's chapel.

The Chapel Composition

The structure alludes to the transition of Ludovica from earthly to eternal life in the heavens through a theatrical composition engaging the viewer (Figure 49). Bernini inherited the chapel's square form, well-preserved frescoes, and beveled piers, supporting pendentives and a shallow dome.[248] He opened the back and added shafts for natural light, a painted altarpiece, a foreground sculptural altarpiece, and a connecting sarcophagus and illusionary vibrant red drapery spilling out towards the audience. Thus, while the sculpture illustrates Ludovica's immediate, dramatic death and the painting portrays the presence of the Holy Family and angels joyous in her union with God, the dome carries the dove of the Holy Spirit and natural light symbolic of divine illumination that beckons her spiritual ascension to the heavens (Figure 50).[249] Bernini altered the plan to a slightly octagonal shape, which centralizes the superimposing dome with a fenestrated lantern.[250] The two angled walls flanking the round-arched space of the

[246] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 5.
[247] Giovanni Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, translated by Linda Lappin (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995), 52.
[248] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 296.
[249] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 120.
[250] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 6.

foreground emphasize the depth and expanded space of the altarpieces to hide the openings to each side of the sculpture that diffuse light into the spiritually charged space.

In contrast to the shallowness of the Cornaro chapel, the advantage of depth allows the telescoped arch to amplify the focus and intimacy of the space and to engage the viewers in an inward illusionistic progression from our earthly world to the transitional space of the saint to the heavenly realm of the painting.[251] Pierce describes the chapel as "the performance of a polychoral work or when an observer, directed by the gesture of a marble saint, shifts his gaze from one sculptural group to the next," which is similar to the varying distances between different singers of a choir to the audience that still creates one harmonious work.[252] His comparison of an auditory experience and the composition of the chapel draws parallels between the laddered progression of each performance and the harmonious, cohesive theatricality. The jasper drapery, vertical columns, rounded arches, sculpture, painting, and constant repetition of emblems and symbols not only echo the shape of the dome and emphasize a vertical progression from earth to the heavens but also a horizontal progression from the space of the audience into the divine realm of the painting.[253]

Bernini especially orchestrated the chapel around the manipulation of light to enhance the essence of divine illumination and therefore a supernatural presence. The expansion of the chapel to provide light wells that illuminate the sculpture from the sides recalls the image of *Santa Bibiana*, despite the innovation of hidden light sources as in the Raimondi and Cornaro chapels.[254] The heads of the cherubs were initially planned to frame the painting at the edges, but the addition of the light "in from a hidden source concealed by pilasters as if it were penetrating

[251] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 120.
[252] Pierce, "Visual and Auditory Space in Baroque Rome," 66.
[253] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 52.
[254] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 296.

through walls themselves" showed that the choice of diagonal orientation allowed the heads to "serve as reflectors."[255] They also act as illusionary three-dimensional extensions of the painting as well as heavenly angels floating between the earth and heaven, which both provide transitions from one world into the other (Figures 51-53). The chiaroscuro effect and fluctuation in the intensity of light coupled with the telescoped structure enhances the "illusion of pulsating space" that amplifies the three-dimensionality and dynamism of a supernatural presence, concentrated in areas charged with spiritual energy.[256] In addition, the current window to the right, sometimes hidden behind a curtain, was originally walled up to focus light from the east window during morning masses and the west window during vespers to maintain the quiet intimacy.[257] The lighting depicted in the painting coincides with the natural light diffusing the chapel to imitate the dawn or twilight atmosphere of the space during morning and evening masses.[258] The overall lighting would appear so dynamic and spiritually energized that the "intimate communion is undisturbed by the intrusion of the observer who feels compelled to tiptoe before her."[259] Moreover, the original use of candlelight would amplify the theatricality and mystical quality by the flickering and dim warm light. The lighting of the chapel thus completes the structural and symbolic function of the chapel.

The Influence of Theater

Bernini incorporates his experiences with theater scenography to engage the audience in this miraculous, spiritual event. Although most of his recorded productions were exhibited in the

[255] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 63.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 15.
[258] Ibid., 20.
[259] Ibid., 15.

1630s and 1640s, Bernini continued to reproduce the same plays or at least other performances using the same techniques and ideas later in his life. Some specific plays illustrate a clear connection to scenography as well as a possible direct influence on the conception of this chapel. For example, *Of Two Theaters* in 1637 used a combination of live actors, fictive figures in three-dimensional sculptural form, and paintings in *trompe l'oeil* style or with a optically illusionistic extension of space that "produces a convincing, laddered progression of the audience's realm in the space of the art."[260] Similarly, in the Altieri Chapel, Bernini incorporates a variety of art forms to fuse each realm depicted and seamlessly extend the illusionistic progression of the audience into the space. From the earthly objects, such as the naturalistic, rich drapery and the sarcophagi defining the reality of human mortality, the scene progresses into the transitory state of the figure that parallels the materials of the earthly objects and yet appears to be of another world with its spiritual vigor. Furthermore, the floating heads of the angels combines a sculptural form with the two-dimensional illusionistic painted altarpiece to maintain the continuity and harmony.

In most of Bernini's plays, he also echoed the time of day and the architectural space of the audience in his stage sets; he also does this in the chapel, depicting the intense lighting during morning and evening masses and using consistent classical, white architecture typical of Bernini throughout his career and reminiscent of church monumentality and brightness. In addition, the drapery recalls a concept utilized in Bernini's production of *The Impresario* in 1638. While the background of the stage depicted the location with St. Peter's and Castel Sant'Angelo, the stage also consisted of real water that gradually rose and flowed out towards the audience, as distressed actors panicked and fled before the water stopped at the edge of the stage.[261] Similarly,

[260] Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre*, 29.
[261] Ibid., 30.

the drapery creates a physical connection between the audience and the event that appears to flow towards the viewers with the naturalistic yet hyperbolic energy and movement of the fabric.[262] As red fabric often denotes noble or religious importance, the drapery alone evokes emotions of awe and spiritual fervor similar to the emotions evoked by the sculpture. In addition, the relationship between the background image of the Holy Family to the sculpture and altarpiece is similar to that of the painted setting of the Tiber to the actors, fictive figures and river. Both backgrounds allude to the site that evokes the emotions emanating through the rest of the space out towards the audience. Thus, the scenographic theatricality of his productions influence his chapel to engage the viewers.

The Sculptural Altarpiece

The altarpieces within the chapel were critical in achieving a sense of the divine presence. The sculptural altarpiece shows Ludovica reclining along a bed (Figure 54). There is a debate over whether Ludovica is in a state of agony or spiritual enlightenment; Careri considers both sides, the state of the "real body" and that of the "imaginary body," and concludes it is a synthesis of the two, in which she suffers in her human form and yet her form becomes overjoyed as she surrenders her soul to her "divine lover."[263] He claims that the paradox of spiritual pleasure and physical agony pinpoints the common experience of famous mystics, many of which are Carmelites that derive from these supernatural, miraculous visions the concept of "mystic marriage."[264] Perlove agrees claiming that "no other sculpture combines so successfully

[262] Charles Scribner, "Transfigurations: Bernini's Last Works," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 135, no. 4 (1991): 500.
[263] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 60.
[264] Ibid.

the qualities of sublime surrender and active participation...[where] her facial expression and posture suggest submission and ecstasy her gesture of grasping her breast implies active voluntary involvement."[265] He determines that the impulsive and agitated expression of her body and the drapery are unique, compared to the representations of death or the state of dying, which appear nothing more than "the stillness of eternal sleep" or a solely dramatized depiction of suffering until death.[266] In addition, the peaceful space that embraces the agitation of the figure emphasize the balance and ambiguity of her state of mind.[267] As a reclining figure on top of a sarcophagus and altar with a painted altarpiece behind, she is a devotional image as an ideal example of faith, who in even the suffering progression towards death, also finds joy and peace in her final union with God. As there is evidence of agony as well as pleasure, the solution seems to both intentionally portray one of many paradoxes of religion and to inspire hope through faith.

The gesture and expression of the sculpture embodies the unification of agony and pleasure as well as the presence of a divine force. Her distended throat, clutching hands, and tensing anatomy reflect her body's crippling surrender.[268] However, her eyes and soft modulation of her face with a parted mouth suggests that she is euphorically submissive to and spiritually and introspectively consumed with the love and power of God. Perlove specifically explains that "the sightlessness of Ludovica's eyes, her pupils rolled back within their sockets, may be associated with the Theresan concept that in the latter stages of union God speaks directly to the soul, imparting to it an 'intellectual vision' not perceived by senses."[269] Nevertheless, the rendering of Teresa's face indicates a harsher, more masculine quality in comparison to the

[265] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 23.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Briggs, "The Genius of Bernini," 201.
[268] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 222.
[269] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 34.

feminine undulation of Ludovica's face, which contrasts with her tense, constricting body.[270] Her facial expression is more similar to the luminous polish and ethereal rendering of the angel than Teresa.[271] She is perhaps even closer in Bernini's conception of mysticism and divine union to *Santa Bibiana* as singular figures undergoing spiritual transformation by divine illumination.[272] Perlove also discusses the absence of a cross where Ludovica clutches her chest, which would normally symbolize death, but instead the absence of one implies a mystical union and emphasizes love through the clutch of her heart.[273] This continues the balance between pain and pleasure as the clutching of her heart could imply both emphatic love and suffering. Furthermore, Bernini acted in accordance with the theological beliefs of the Catholic Church that claims souls united with God never die but achieve eternal life, "existing within the continuum of spiritual time by means of which she moves from life to death and from death to infinite life.[274] Depicting her state of dying thus becomes essential to explain the death of her body but the transcendence of her soul to a new and eternal life by the grace of God. Bernini depicts both tension and contortion to reflect Ludovica's pain and suffering but also includes a delicate, mystical quality of her face and the gripping of her heart to embody her submissive union with God. These two extremes help to engage the audience and convince them of an event occurring beyond our earthly reality.

Ludovica's drapery embodies her inner spiritual rapture in response to an external supernatural force that could be the only explanation for the exaggerated lines of the drapery. The saint's hands clutch the fabric with a sharp angle of her wrist to her arm, but the drapery

[270] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 222.
[271] Morgan Currie, "Sanctified Presence: Sculpture and Sainthood in Early Modern Italy," PhD Diss., Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, 2015, *Digital Access to Scholarship at Harvard*, 138.
[272] Ibid., 131.
[273] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 38.
[274] Ibid.

unusually loops and curves with deeply undercut angular lines to achieve a sense of turbulence and to reflect the inner spiritual energy on their exterior, as with many of Bernini's religious sculptures.[275] The abundance of fabric moving in tight whirlpool and jagged patterns defy the laws of nature with an intense exaggeration enhanced through *chiaroscuro* and a movement evocative of rippling water more than soft, smooth fabric.[276] The patterns of these ripples also echo the movements of Ludovica's body, such as the rise of her knee, the tightening of her hand, the pull of her garment, her twisting torso, and the curvature of neck, and head.[277] The ambiguity between pain and passion is especially apparent in her hand gesture, which could allude to suffering and agony or highlight her love of charity and spiritual excitement.[278] While the twisting and tension of her body does suggest pain, the drapery echoing the contours of her body in intense and energetically charged rhythmic pattern appears to reflect the presence of a greater unworldly force. The drapery is more likely an accentuation of spiritual salvation in accordance with the remainder of the chapel.

The sarcophagus and angels are other important supporting elements in depicting the saint's transition from the earthly world. The form of the tomb with a reclining figure atop and a painted altarpiece behind references a typical sepulchral form in Italy from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[279] Sarcophagi from the Renaissance were similarly decorated with colorful drapery and symbols of flaming torches, heads of Janus, and angels or celestial figures awaiting the ascension of a soul, all symbolic of salvation and resurrection in the afterlife as a reward for unwavering faithful.[280] Therefore, the sarcophagus, though a symbol of death, is also a

[275] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 222.
[276] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 16.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Marder and Martin, *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*, 297.
[279] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 21.
[280] Ibid., 22.

representation of transcending one's earthly existence and a celebration of salvation, reassuring the audience that a life of devotion and penance will lead to the same result.[281] The angels also joyously celebrate the enlightenment and salvation of Ludovica's soul. Not only do they accentuate the direction of light and sense of focus towards the figure but also curve diagonally in a dramatic Baroque style, balancing against the convulsing curvature of the figure.[282] Their movement is slightly ambiguous as to whether they move outward or inward and upward or downward, drawing a connection between the horizontal and vertical planes of the actions in the event. This could also function to build up energy in capturing a climactic moment, where the angels descend from the heavens and await for the soul of Ludovica on the verge of ascending back into the heavens. Each angel also carries individualized expressions of empathy and love to evoke similar emotions in the audience.[283] Overall, the angels and sarcophagi reflect intense emotions of the event to produce a theatrical depiction of the saint and evoke spiritual fervor.

The Painted Altarpiece

In addition to the sculpture, the painted altarpiece evokes a similar aura of spiritual fervor and divine presence. Bernini chose to work with Giovanni Battista Gaulli, known as Baciccio, on the painted altarpiece, which was possibly influenced by their collaboration on the nave vault and an *apparato* at the Gesù. Completed between 1674 and 1679, the *apparato* included the completion of a fresco called *The Triumphe of the Name of Jesus*, in which divine illumination radiated from the central monogram of Jesus, IHS, to provide salvation to the faithful in light or

[281] Ibid., 44.
[282] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 222.
[283] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 16.

condemn those unfaithful in darkness (Figure 55).[284] In this example of Baciccio's work, he captured the theatricality of "blurring between illusion and reality."[285] His fresco includes illusionistic clouds that optically allude to the three-dimensional quality of the incorporated *chiaroscuro* stucco relief of figures along the cornice and clerestory windows.[286] Thus, the scene appears to extend beyond the confines of the church into the heavens and the divine light corresponding with the natural light from the windows. Bernini aided Baciccio in four of his preparatory drawings centralizing the composition around God with a dramatic diagonal of Christ and the Virgin Mary receding into space and floating angels carrying instruments of the Passion, all in foreshortened perspective with the audience standing below.[287] Although the *apparato* at the Gesù was not descriptively recorded, the resulting fresco illustrates the same theatricality and illusionism of Bernini's theater production. Bernini wished to "produce an illusion of reality to wipe out the boundaries between appearance and fact: the audience was to be surprised, confused and drawn into the world of the stage."[288] Thus, Baciccio and Bernini collaborated to produce a coherent composition that dramatically engaged the viewers and evoked emotions of piety.

Gaulli was an appropriate choice for the altarpiece given his experience with Bernini and also due to his familiarity with the saint. Due to the reform of the beatification procedure under Urban VIII, Ludovica's canonization was required to prove the longevity of her cult for at least a hundred years through the testimony about her consistent iconography and depictions by art historians and artists, including Gaulli.[289] In addition, Gaulli painted *Saint Francesca Romana*

[284] Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," 236.
[285] Pierce, "Visual and Auditory Space in Baroque Rome," 64.
[286] Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," 236.
[287] Tonkovich, "Two Studies for the Gesù and a 'Quarantore' Design by Bernini," 34.
[288] Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, 1:251.
[289] Karen J. Lloyd, "Baciccio's Beata Ludovica Albertoni Distributing Alms," *Getty Research Journal*, no. 2 (2010): 4.

Giving Alms around the same time, between 1675 and 1676, that some argue could be Ludovica given the white veil, long black dress, and iconography of the coin-studded loaf of bread.[290] Not only does the offering of bread to the poor refer to her virtue of charity but also references the Eucharist and Ludovica's miraculous visions and levitations after receiving communion during mass.[291] Because the other altarpiece emphasizes Ludovica's faith and Gaulli was familiar with the saint's virtue of charity, he chose to emulate her charity through the depiction of the Holy Family. In the altarpiece painting, Sainte Anne reaches forward for Jesus, referring to the love of God and one of the prayers of the rosary of Sainte Anne by a sixteenth century abbot Trithemius, where the Mary beseeches Sainte Anne to clutch the Christ child to her bosom in a form of mystic union (Figure 56).[292] The action of Sainte Anne reaching for Christ implies a transitory state similar to that of Ludovica's, where the climactic moment of the union remains on the cusp to accumulate suspense and immediacy.[293] Moreover, her robes depict that of a Poor Clare providing a link to Ludovica's vow of poverty and commitment to aiding the poor.[294] Thus, there is a clear connection between Ludovica and the painting.

In addition, the painting embodies Ludovica's love for God and her ascension into heaven. The scene depicts the Holy Family, including an eager, youthful Christ, a young joyous Virgin Mary, and an affectionate Sainte Anne, all within a lush, heavenly landscape.[295] According to Careri, Gaulli rendered the figures with a more realistic, palpable treatment rather than in a superficial, representative manner in order to reflect the nature of charity in reference to

[290] Ibid., 1-2.
[291] Ibid., 6.
[292] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 56.
[293] Morgan Currie, "Sanctified Presence: Sculpture and Sainthood in Early Modern Italy," PhD Diss., Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, 2015, *Digital Access to Scholarship at Harvard*, 146.
[294] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 56.
[295] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 16.

Ludovica's life.[296] The painting establishes a connection between Ludovica's virtues and ascension into heaven to join the Holy Family. The *putti* above celebrate both the Holy Family and Ludovica, strewing flowers above them. They appear to float between both spaces, as the sculptural *putti* heads help to transition the figures in the painting beyond the frames and two-dimensional scene, expanding the depth of the chapel back into the main chapel space. In addition, the lighting in the painting illuminates the figures in according with the lighting from the windows during morning and evening masses. Thus, the two altarpieces, despite their material form, fuse to form one coherent scene that harmonizes the progression from the audience back into the heavenly realm of the painting, similarly to the vertical progression from the audience to the vault depicting the heavens.

In both altarpieces, Ludovica is associated with images of Sainte Anne and the Virgin Mary. In addition to the general implication of charity in Sainte Anne's gesture, both Ludovica and Sainte Anne are "engaged in the act of receiving Christ" through an inner experience and an outer experience, the emotions and spirit as well as the physical body.[297] As Sainte Anne will soon clutch the child to her bosom, Ludovica expresses a clutching gesture towards her heart, where the fabric near Ludovica's face and her arm that grasps her chest echoes the fabric of Mary's veil and arm that clutches the child before reaching the bosom of Sainte Anne.[298] In addition, Ludovica's dying condition recalls images of the death of the Virgin in various instances. Hugo Van der Goes painted *Death of a Virgin* in 1481, depicting Mary surrounded by apostles and a floating Christ awaiting the ascension of her soul, which is suggested by her eyes rolled back, peaceful demeanor, and white veil and pillow symbolizing purity.[299] Similarly,

[296] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 55.
[297] Ibid., 64-65.
[298] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 19-20.
[299] Ibid., 24.

Andrea Sacchi's 1649 painting of the *Death of Saint Anne* illustrates the calm, restful body of Saint Anne on her deathbed with Mary and Christ, who emphasize the joy and comfort present before her soul's ascension into the heavens.[300] Her reclining body references the general religious motif of the "swooning madonna" or "fainting saint."[301] While Bernini does not attempt to equate Ludovica to the Virgin Mary or Saint Anne, he establishes a clear parallel to symbolize the joy of mystical union rewarded to those who emulate the virtues of the Holy Family. Even the metaphorical links drawn between Ludovica and the Holy Family create harmony throughout the space that connects otherwise disjointed components of the chapel.

Supporting Symbolism

The two frescoes of Saint Clare and Ludovica and the frescoes of the vault continue the representation of Ludovica's mystical union for her good deeds. The frescoes of Saint Clare and Ludovica specifically refer to the Christian virtues of faith and charity correspondingly, where Saint Clare holds a lantern of light, possibly symbolizing divine illumination, and Ludovica provides bread to a poor beggar (Figure 57-58). The two paintings flank the chapel at an inward angle to open the space to the viewers and direct them into the space of the altarpieces, functioning like a proscenium arch in theater. The saints also appear in illusionistic architecture settings to seemingly expand the space in accordance with Bernini's illusionistic and literal expansion of the chapel. Furthermore, as Bellori and Baciccio himself attested to these paintings as being dated at least a hundred years earlier, their installment signifies the officiation of Ludovica's cult and emphasizes her devotion through the connecting juxtaposition with another

[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid., 26.

officially recognized saint.[302] This also heightens the importance of Ludovica's charity, a Franciscan virtue required for obtaining eternal salvation and mystical union with God.[303]

The decoration of the dome by Gaspare Celio from 1622 represents a divine vision of the heavens with illusionistic clouds, angels playing music and singing, a ring of gold around the lantern's opening to echo the radiating light, and a foreshortened image of God at the summit.[304] Although the chapel was originally dedicated to Saint Anne, the vault portrayed the similar event of her soul ascending into the heavens, as discussed in the general similarity between images of her death and those of the Virgin Mary and Ludovica. In addition, the pendentives include depictions Saint Agnes, Santa Francesca Romana and Saint Cecilia as well as Ludovica, as they were all noble Roman women who "renounced earthly pleasures and wealth to pursue a life of piety, asceticism, and religious devotion."[305] Bernini utilized the similar narrative of Sainte Anne and original frescoes within the chapel to further emphasize the recognition of Ludovica's virtues that led to her salvation and her long-established cult. The illusionism of their settings corresponds to the theatrical staging intended to engage the viewer into the vision of the heavens.

As discussed in the structural composition of the chapel, the red drapery enhances the intensity and theatricality of the chapel. The fabric increases in scale and intensity as it reaches the viewer with angular, sharp folds of fabric and deeply carved shapes for a greater *chiaroscuro* effect.[306] Recalling the comparison to the Tiber flooding in Bernini's production of *The Impresario*, the building intensity towards the viewer is evocative of the growing emotions and energy of the audience as the water moves closer to the audience. The powerful color also

[302] Ibid., 6.
[303] Ibid., 32.
[304] Ibid., 6.
[305] Ibid., 10.
[306] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 72.

denoted the liturgical significance of the cloth during the blessing of the Eucharist, connecting Christ's salvation of the faithful occurring in the spiritual ascension of Ludovica as well as physically joining the chapel with the altar.[307] Furthermore, the drapery of the foreground connects to that of Ludovica to accentuate the spiritual charge of the event and extend out to the audience.[308] Farther inside the chapel, the color of the drapery echoes and balances the vibrant colors of the painted altarpiece.[309] Rather than producing a constant array of color, the rhythmic waves intensify the spiritual energy through contrast similar to the fluctuating variations of light. The red drapery both stabilizes and contrasts elements in the chapel to evoke intense spiritual fervor in the audience.

The detail of symbols and emblems throughout the chapel add to the consistent symbolism of the chapel to better evoke emotions in the audience. Elements of architecture, such as the pilasters flanking the altarpieces, the window panels, and vault stucco decorations, consist of flaming torches, heads of winged cherubs, heads of Janus with slithering snakes, bursting pomegranates, illuminated doves, and baskets of roses and lilies.[310] The symbol of the flaming heart and torches decorating the altar reflect the inner spirituality and fervor or passionate love for God, while the angels and painting frame carry roses to celebrate the saint's union with God (Figure 59).[311] The heads of Janus refer to the god of light responsible for opening and closing the gates of heaven and guarding the entrance to eternal life.[312] The more obvious symbol of the dove echoes the dove of the Holy Spirit in the vault and the divine illumination radiating inside the chapel. Most of the symbols repeat from the emblems decorating the sarcophagus to portray

[307] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 16.
[308] Hibbard, *Bernini*, 222.
[309] Ibid., 225.
[310] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 16.
[311] Careri, *Bernini: Flights of Love, the Art of Devotion*, 69.
[312] Perlove, *Bernini and the Idealization of Death*, 41.

themes of resurrection, love, and spiritual passion. There is a clear aura of the supernatural world emanating through divine illumination and salvation of the saint's soul to convince the audience of the event and the presence of divinity.

Conclusion

Although Bernini's experience in theater started very early in his career, he continued to produce a variety of productions as well as permanent displays with the same vigor later in his life, as demonstrated in the example of the Altieri Chapel. He continued to exemplify skill in creating art that is convincing lifelike, energized through exaggerated contrast of light and dark, seemingly in motion at the climax of the event, and emotionally charged.[313] This chapel is yet another example of the Baroque theatricality and emotionalism of Bernini's work, elevated through the influence of theater.

[313] Catherine M. Soussloff, "Old Age and Old-Age Style in the "Lives" of Artists: Gianlorenzo Bernini," *Art Journal* 46, no. 2 (1987): 115.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

Bernini captured the dramatic spirit of the Baroque in his chapels through the accessibility and materiality of the *bel composto* and his unique incorporation of compelling theatrical scenographic techniques. As Irving Lavin noted, "'baroque theatricality,' meaning both exaggerated emotionalism and a direct transfer of formal devices from one field to the other, is almost synonymous with 'Bernini.'"[314] He achieved the illusionism of theater, linking the physical and spiritual realm of his chapels with the temporal reality of the audience. Not only did he blur the distinction between each reality, but he also staged the chapels with a familiar contemporary context and an exaggeration of emotional expressiveness, as in his theater productions.[315] Despite the actual static materiality of the individual paintings, sculptures, and elements of architecture, the heightened emotion and illusion of the supernatural enhances the animation and harmony of the chapels. This overwhelming effect evokes an emotional response as though the chapels are active performances that "transcend the materiality of the stone."[316] In addition, the religious significance of the depicted miracles evoke intense emotions about human mortality and the afterlife. Bernini's devout personal faith likely influenced and enhanced the intimacy and spirituality of his art. According to some of his biographers, his religiosity grew more throughout his life and his faith was especially reflected in his old age, as he considered his own mortality and the sacrifice of martyrs and saints.[317]

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[314] Lavin, Irving. Review of *Fontana di Trevi, Commedia inedita* by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Cesare d'Onofrio. *The Art Bulletin* 46, no. 4 (1964): 568.
[315] Olaf Recktenwald, "Bernini: Art as Theatre," review of *Bernini: Art as Theatre* by Genevieve Warwick, *Southeastern College Art Conference Review* 16, no. 4 (2014), 538.
[316] Ibid., 539.
[317] Catherine M. Soussloff, "Old Age and Old-Age Style in the "Lives" of Artists: Gianlorenzo Bernini," *Art Journal* 46, no. 2 (1987), 116.

Although Bernini produced many popular and effective works, the Baroque artistic sensibility was soon to be challenged by the rising popularity of Neoclassicism. However, Bernini was so successful that his art maintained a broad influence after his death. In 1692, at the Accademia di San Luca, students participated in a drawing competition that featured works by the relatively recent Algardi and the Renaissance icon Raphael but a significantly greater number by Bernini.[318] As Livio Pestilli observed, "if Bernini's sculptures were being assigned in the Academy of St. Luke as artistic exempla so persistently and so much more frequently than the work of any other modern artist, surely he must not have been all that unpopular," despite the declining popularity of Baroque art.[319] His work also influenced artists outside of Rome and even Italy; in 1705, Charles Poerson, the director of the Académie de France, affirmed that Bernini was well-recognized for his art, especially through the example of his *Baldacchino*.[320] Moreover, Bernini remained significant at least forty years later, when Charles de Brosses, another French public figure, claimed that he admired Bernini's works, ranging from the *Baldacchino* and the *Cathedra Petri* to his *Santa Bibiana* and *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*.[321] Bernini was recognized and popularized among significant figures of various cultures after the height of his career and of the Baroque style, which attests to his influence as an innovator and a leader.

Although the Baroque movement receives criticism for its opulence and lack of truth, Bernini was one of many Baroque artists that achieved influence and praise for this powerful aesthetic. Ultimately, the Baroque was closer in style to the Renaissance revival of antiquity than the transitioning style between them, Mannerism, which was criticized for its artificial

[318] Livio Pestilli, "On Bernini's Reputed Unpopularity in Late Baroque Rome," *Artibus Et Historiae* 32, no. 63 (2011), 125.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid., 125-129.

irrationality.[322] The illusionistic quality of the Baroque may not have achieved reality but instead created a new reality that attempted to innovate without completely diverging from rationality or the accepted academic convention of art.[323] Bruce Boucher argues that "Bernini's achievement was not, as has sometimes been said, a mere flouting of the rules, but rather the fruit of a long period of experimentation with the problems of representing the miraculous while maintaining the distinction between truth and fiction."[324] His art, particularly his chapels, is an endeavor to clearly inform the viewer as to their meaning and to prevent interpretations that might hinder the teachings of the Church. The criticism that his art is overpowering does not consider that Bernini intentionally created overwhelming works to capture the otherworldly sensation of the supernatural. In addition to engaging the viewer in active participation with his work, Bernini attempted to instruct the viewers in themes that involve common concerns of religiosity and mysticism in his contemporary society.[325] His depiction of the supernatural and the role of humans during and after their earthly existence was popular even among other connected faiths, such as the Jesuits.[326] The changing perception of Baroque art reflected a change in cultural values. Before 1680, Bernini himself predicted the decline in popularity of his art, understanding the trends and interests of his contemporaries.[327] In general, Bernini's chapels provide insight into the culture and shared values of a society within this specific historical context. His art exemplifies the cultural fascination with theater, the wealth and power of the Church, and the search for truth through religion. Although trends in art continuously change to cohere with new

[322] Bruce Boucher, *Italian Baroque Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 14.
[323] Ibid., 10.
[324] Ibid., 134.
[325] Ibid., 215-216.
[326] Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 93.
[327] Boucher, *Italian Baroque Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 195.

ideas and the development of societies, Bernini remains an iconic and influential leader of innovation and modernism for the age of the Baroque.

APPENDIX

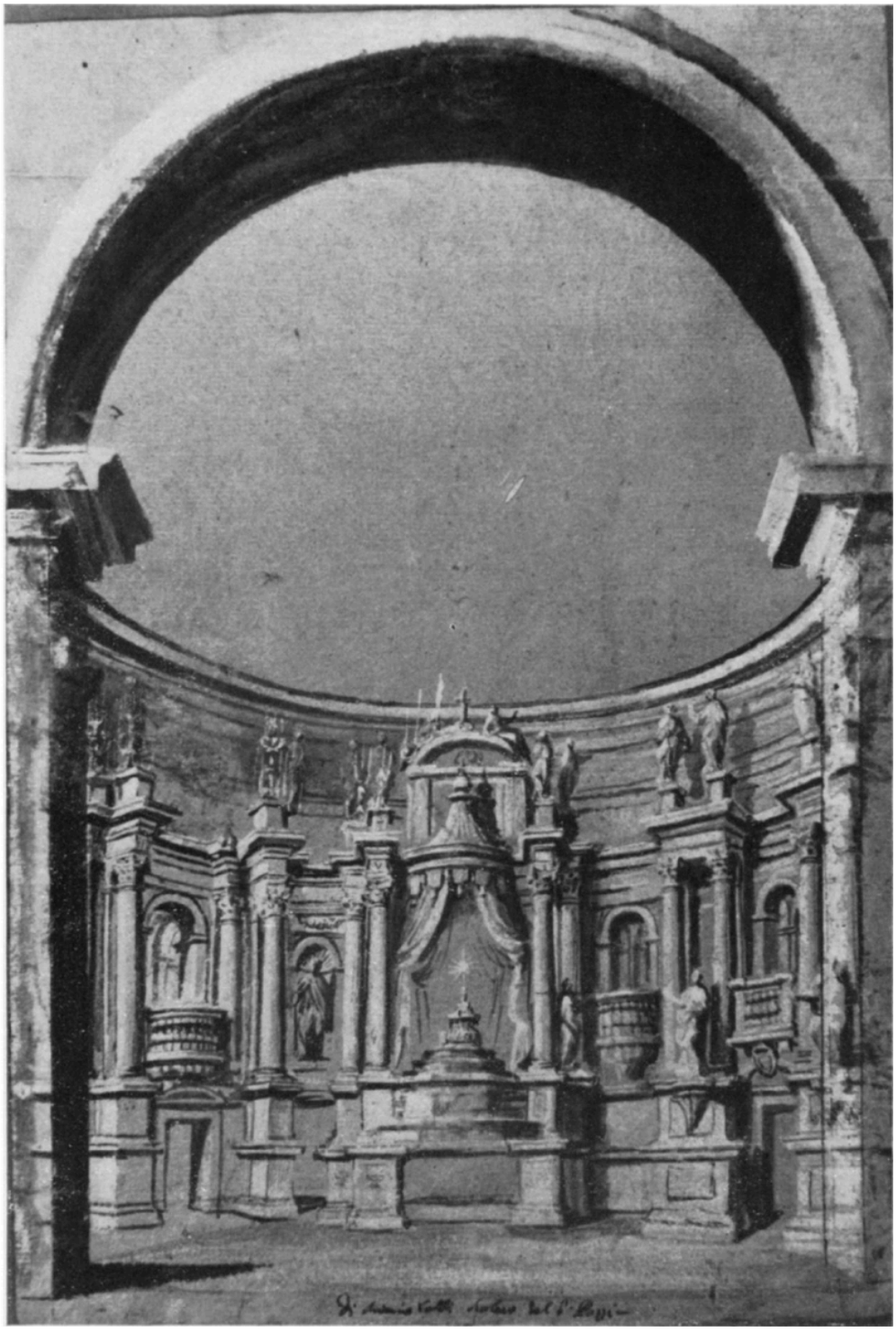

Figure 1. Lodewijk Houthakker, *Drawing for an apparto*. 1605. Amsterdam. From: Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 218-48. doi:10.2307/750841. Plate c.

Figure 2. Pietro Bernini, *Assumption of the Virgin*. 1606-10, marble relief. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 19. 2017).

Figure 3. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *The Goat Amalthea with the Infant Jupiter and a Faun*. 1611-12, marble. Galleria Borghese, Rome. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 2.

Figure 4. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Scipione Borghese*. 1632, marble. Galleria Borghese, Rome. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 19.

Figure 5. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*. 1616. Galleria degli Uffizi. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 19. 2017).

Figure 6. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Baldacchino*. 1624-33, Bronze on marble pedestals. The apse of St Peter's, Rome. From: From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 13.

Figure 7. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Apollo and Daphne*. 1622-25, marble. Galleria Borghese, Rome. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 10.

Figure 8. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *St. Longinus*. 1629-38, Marble. Saint Peter's, Rome. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 14.

Figure 9. *Stage set from* Il S. Alessio. 1634, engraving. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 262.

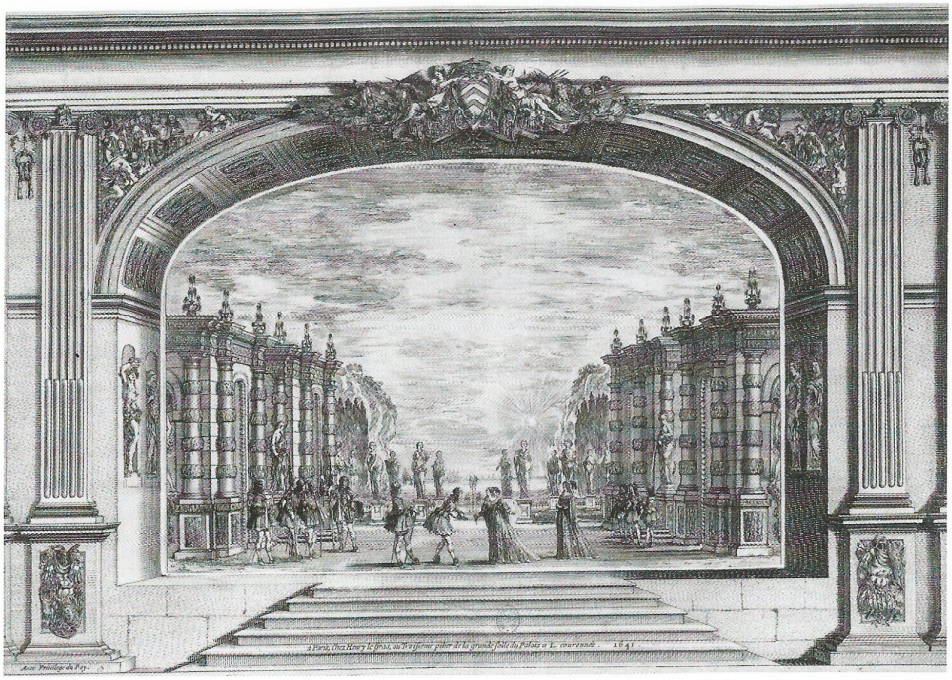

Figure 10. Stefano della Bella, *Stage design for Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin,* Mirame*, Act III from* Six planches sur la première desquelles on lit: Ouverture du théâtre de la grande salle du palais Cardinal. 1641, engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 9.

Figure 11. Gianlorenzo Bernini and G. P. Schor, *Fireworks for the Birth of the Dauphin*. 1662, engraving by D. Barrière. Museo di Roma (Gabinetto Communale delle Stampe). From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Plate 53.

Figure 12. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Circle of Bernini, Sunrise or Sunset*. Before 1638, pen and ink with wash. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 8.

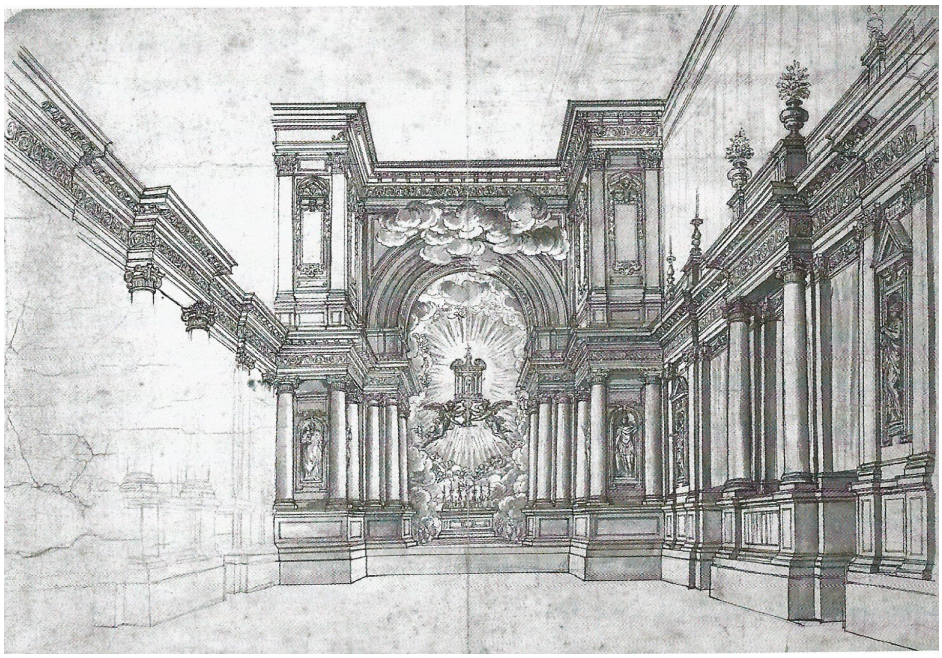

Figure 13. Pietro da Cortona, *Design for a* Quarant're *display in San Lorenzo in Damaso, Rome*. 1633, pen and ink with wash over black chalk. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2012. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 17.

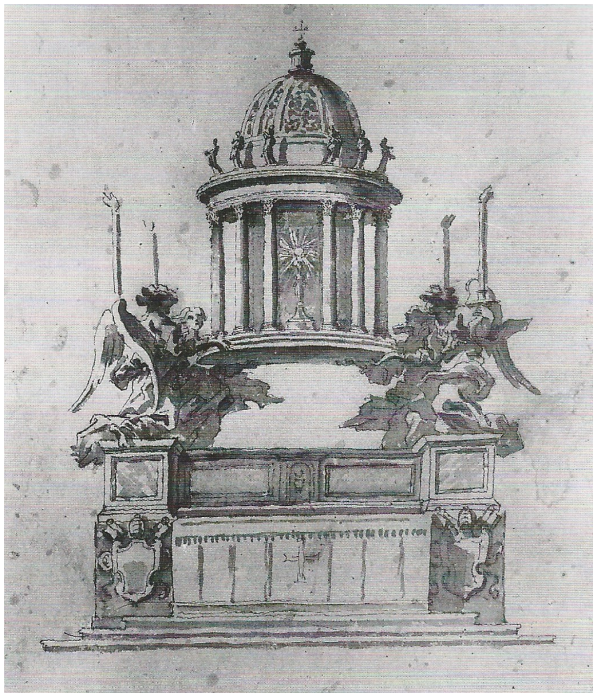

Figure 14. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Drawing for Tabernacle*. 1662, pen and ink with wash. The Hermitage, Leningrad. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Plate 68.

Figure 15. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Cathedra Petri (detail of the upper half, or glory, stucco and some bronze figs, all gilt)*. 1657-66, gilded bronze, stucco, marble and glass. St Peter's, Rome. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 29.

Figure 16. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Santa Bibiana*. 1624-26, marble. Santa Bibiana, Rome. From: From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 12.

Figure 17. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Nave of Santa Bibiana*. 1624-26, marble. Santa Bibiana, Rome. From: Tod A. Marder and Joseph S. Martin. *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*. New York: Abbeville, 1998. Plate 39.

Figure 18. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Santa Bibiana*. 1624-26, marble, life-size. Santa Bibiana, Rome. From: Tod A. Marder and Joseph S. Martin. *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*. New York: Abbeville, 1998. Plate 41.

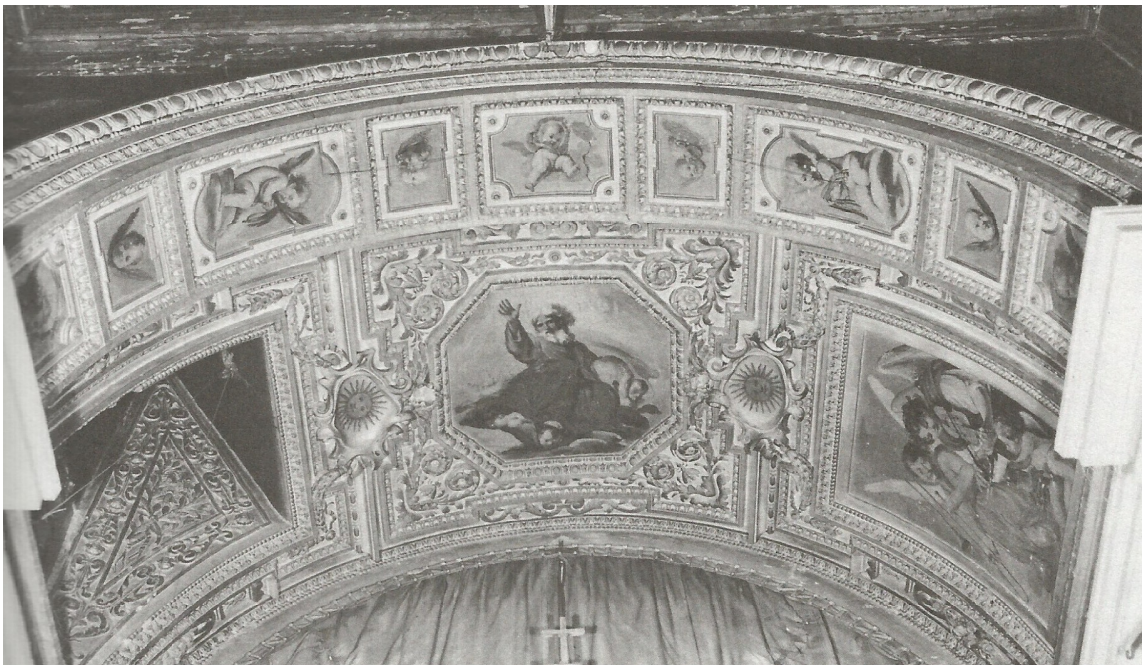

Figure 19. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Vault above high altar Santa Bibiana*. 1624-26, marble. Santa Bibiana, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 54.

Figure 20. Baccio Pontelli, *San Pietro in Montorio*. Late 15th century. Rome. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 19. 2017).

Figure 21. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Raimondi Chapel*. 1624-26. San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 17.

Figure 22. Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Francesco Baratta, *Raimondi Chapel*. 1638-48. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 19. 2017).

Figure 23. Guidobaldo Abbatini, *Apse vault decoration*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 29.

Figure 24. Guidobaldo Abbatini and Francesco Romanelli, *Vault decoration*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 30.

Figure 25. Francesco Baratta, *Ecstasy of St Francis*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 22.

Figure 26. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Tomb of Girolamo Raimondi*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 19.

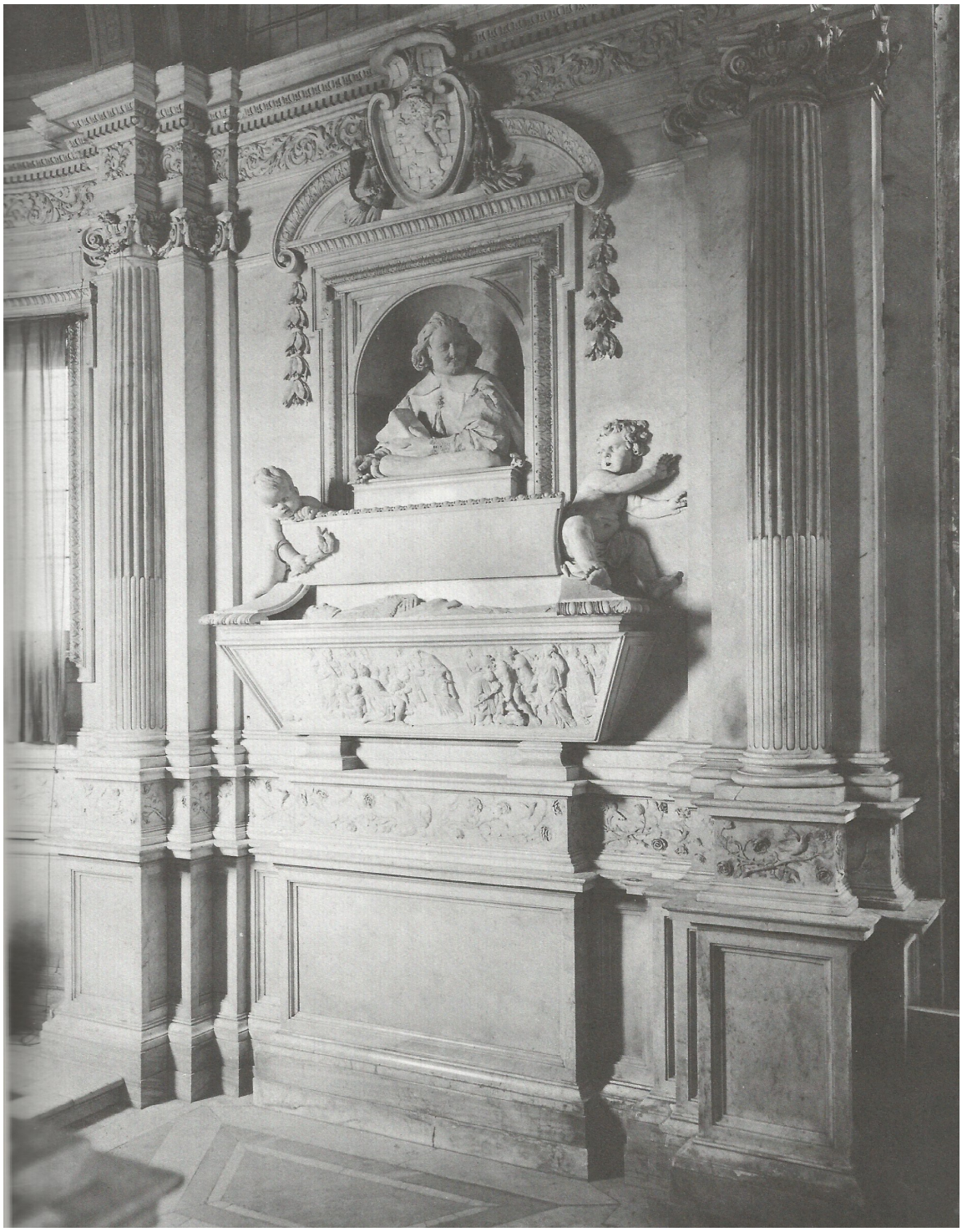

Figure 27. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Tomb of Francesco Raimondi*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 20.

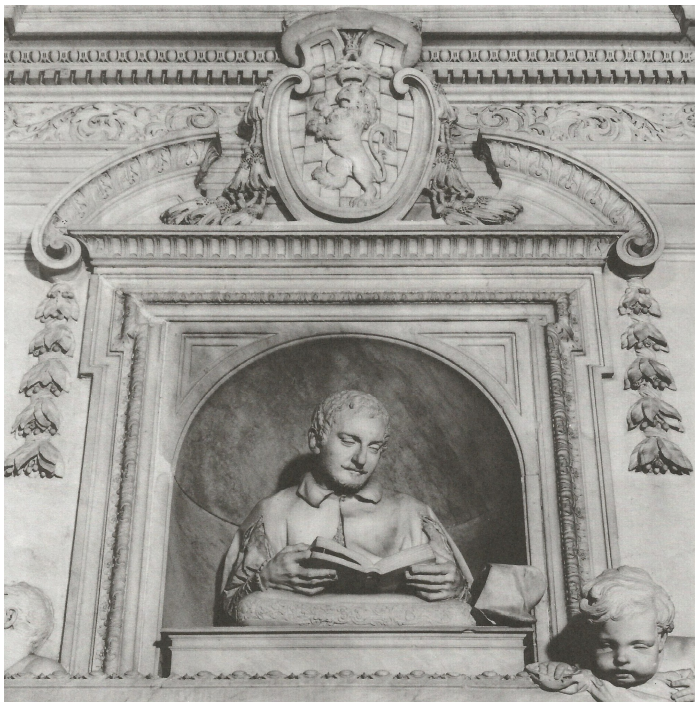

Figure 28. Andrea Bolgi, *Bust of Girolamo Raimondi*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 27.

Figure 29. Andrea Bolgi, *Bust of Francesco Raimondi*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 28.

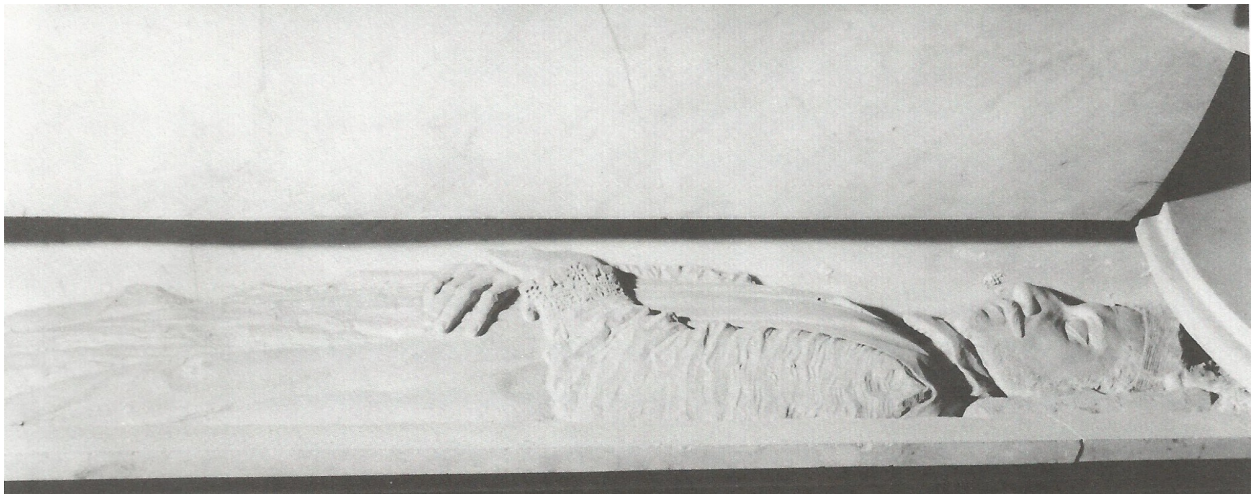

Figure 30. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Tomb of Girolamo Raimondi Detail*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 23.

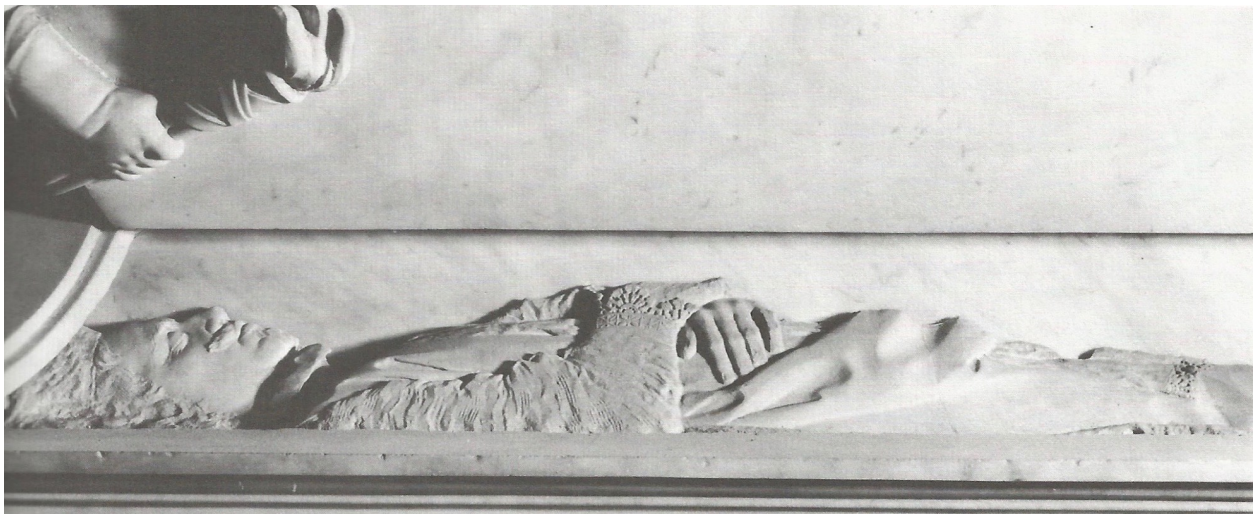

Figure 31. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Tomb of Francesco Raimondi Detail*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 25.

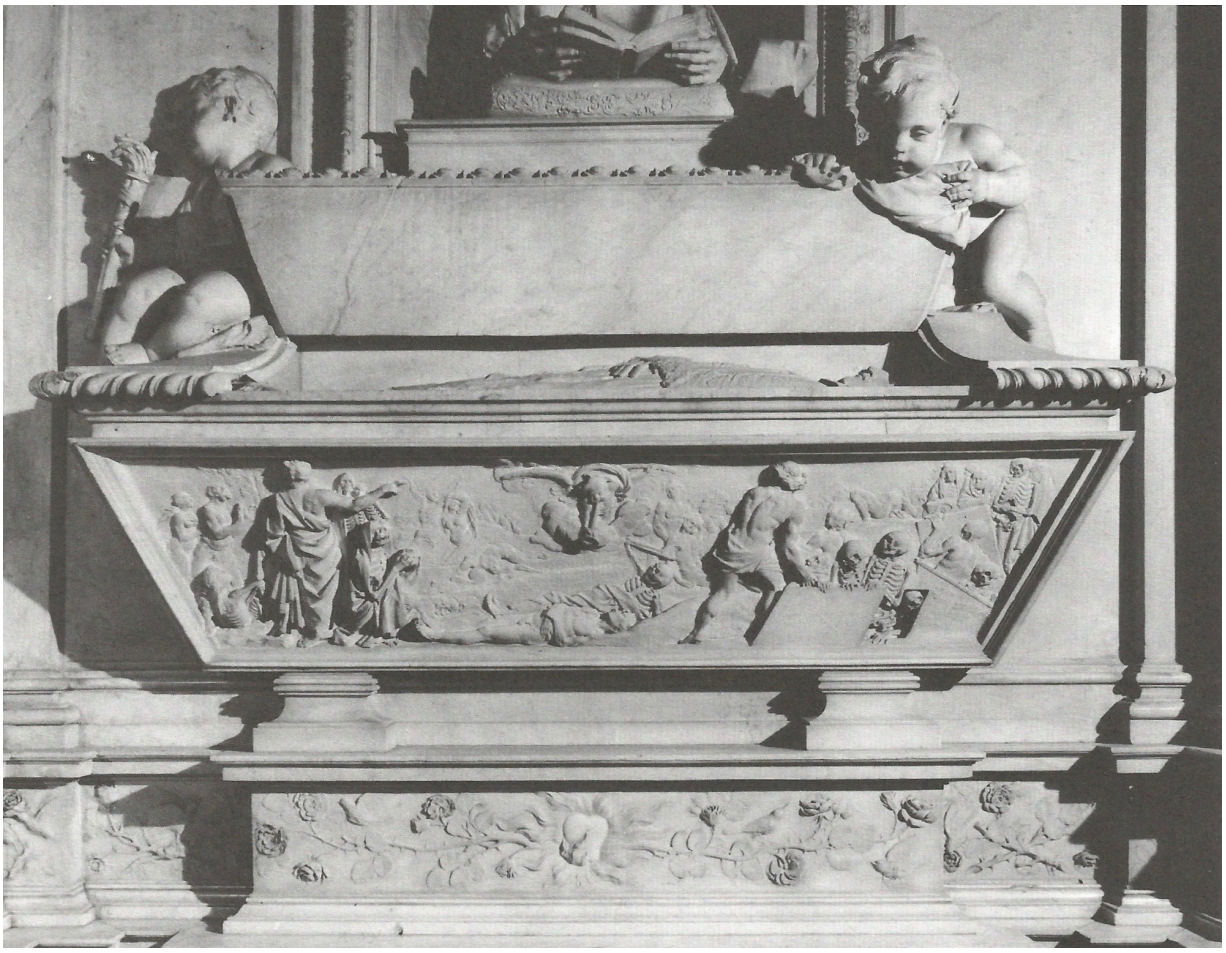

Figure 32. Nicolas Sale, *Resurrection of the Dead, Sarcophagus of Girolamo Raimondi*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 24.

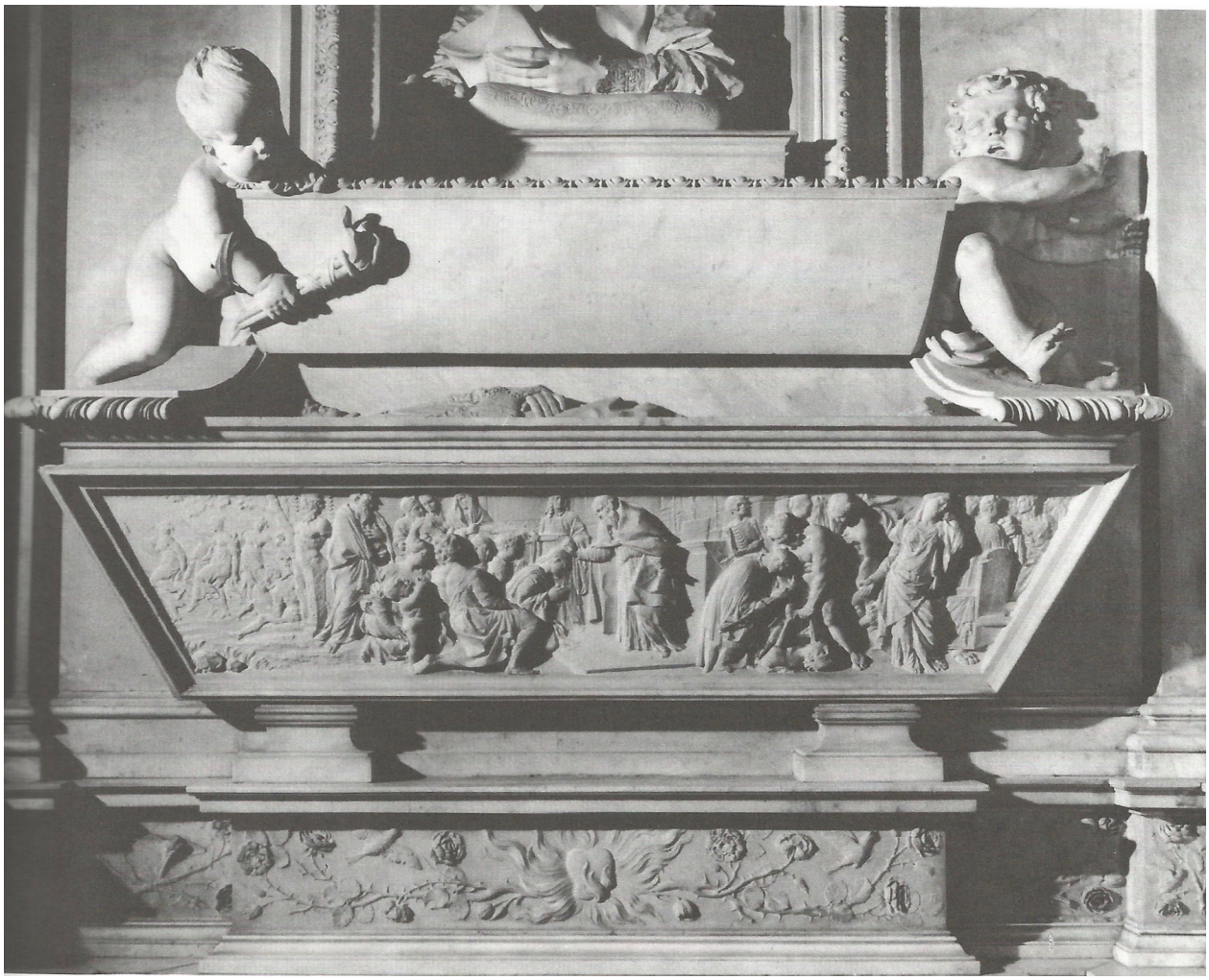

Figure 33. Nicolas Sale, *Carnival, Lent and Death, Sarcophagus of Francesco Raimondi*. 1624-26. Raimondi Chapel, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 26.

Figure 34. Giovanni Battista Soria, *Santa Maria della Vittoria*.1605-1626. Rome. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 19. 2017).

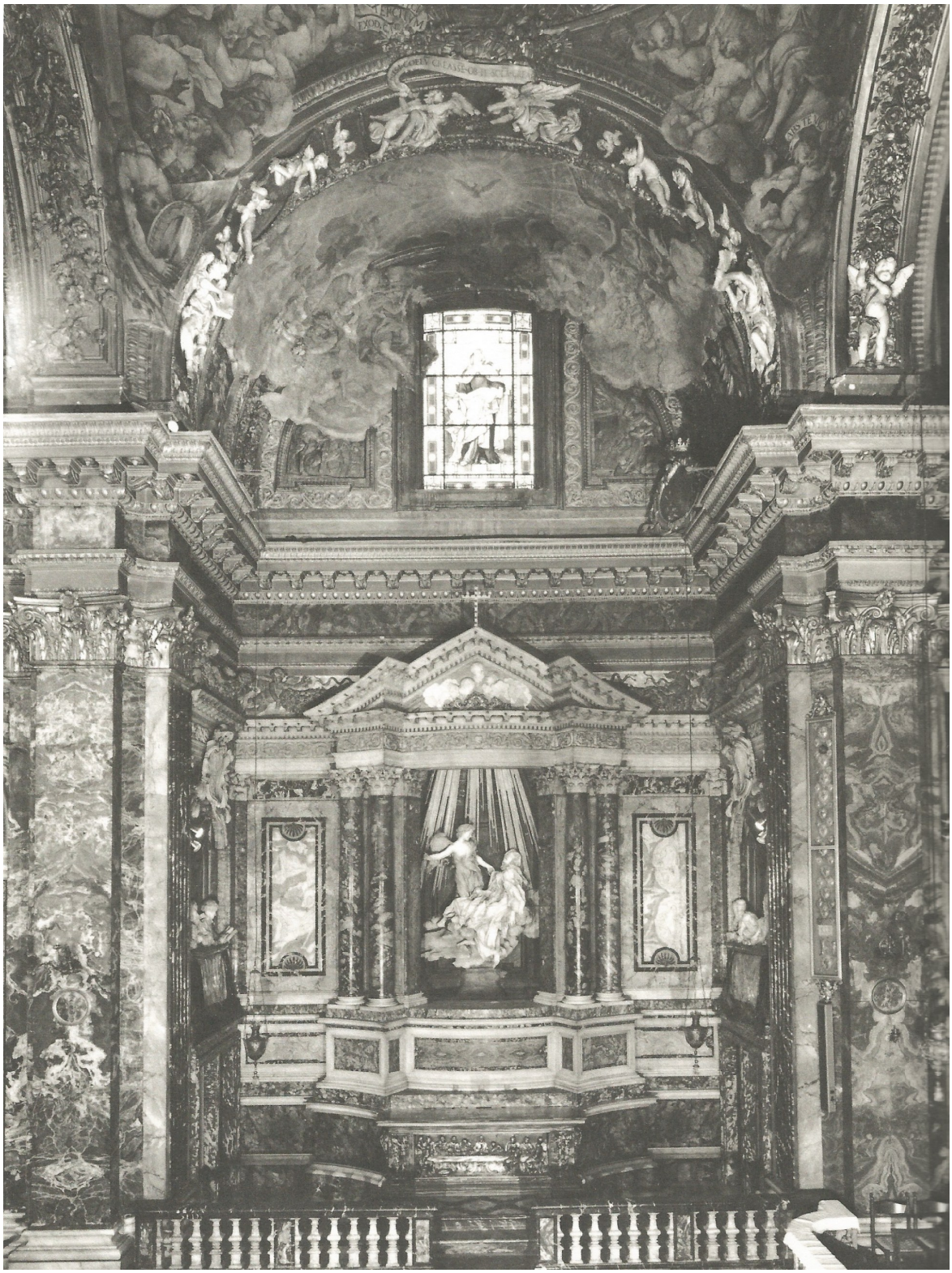

Figure 35. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Cornaro Chapel*. 1624-26. Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 150.

Figure 36. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Cornaro Chapel with the Ecstasy of St. Teresa.* 1647-51, marble. Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Tod A. Marder and Joseph S. Martin. *Bernini and the Art of Architecture*. New York: Abbeville, 1998. Plate 91.

Figure 37. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Altar niche (detail)l*. 1624-26. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 164.

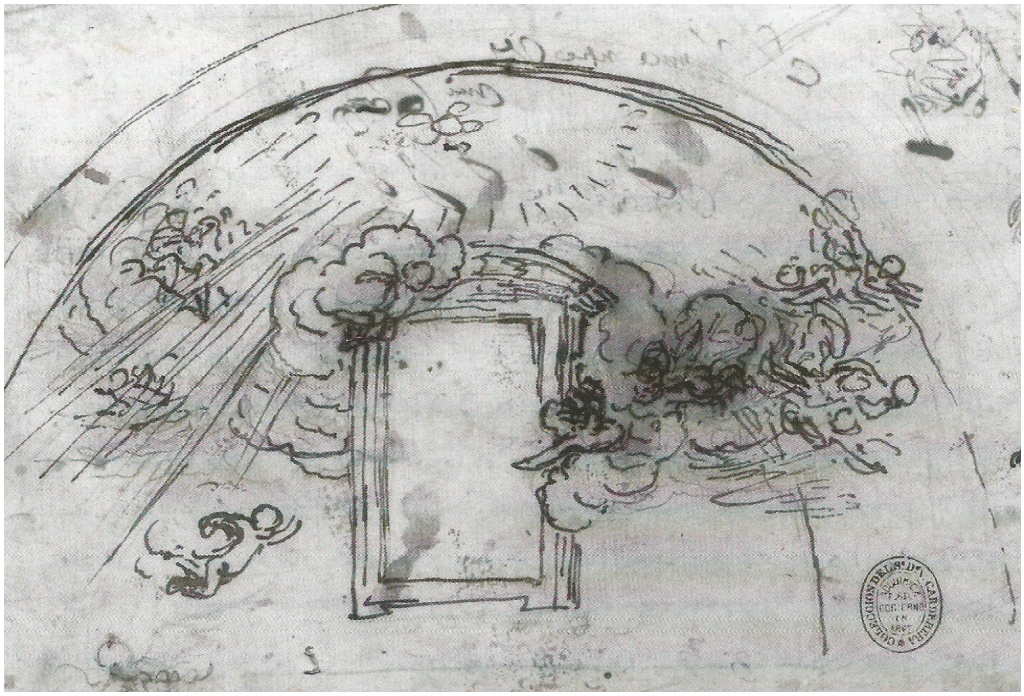

Figure 38. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Preparatory drawing for the Cornaro Chapel Vault*. 1650, pen, red chalk and brown ink. Biblioteca National, Madrid. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 2.

Figure 39. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Detail of the entrance arch*. 1647-52. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 3.

Figure 40. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Detail of the entrance arch and vault (*painted by Guido Ubaldo Abbatini). 1647-52. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 1.

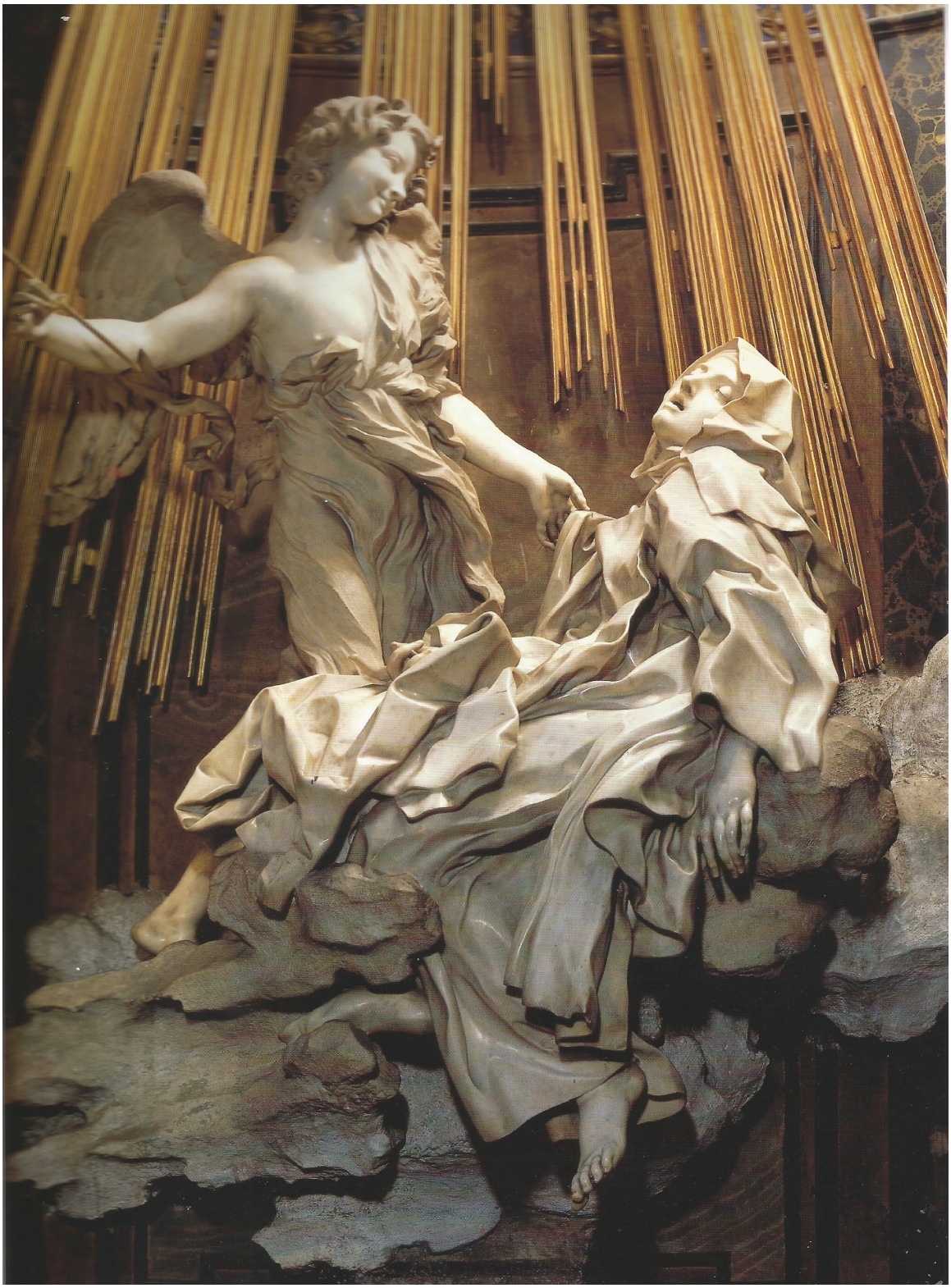

Figure 41. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Ecstasy of St. Teresa.* 1647-52, marble. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 25.

Figure 42. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Ecstasy of St. Teresa (detail)*. 1624-26, marble. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 173.

Figure 43. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Last Supper*. 1624-26. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 180.

Figure 44. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Lateral walls showing members of the Cornaro family*. 1647-52. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 26.

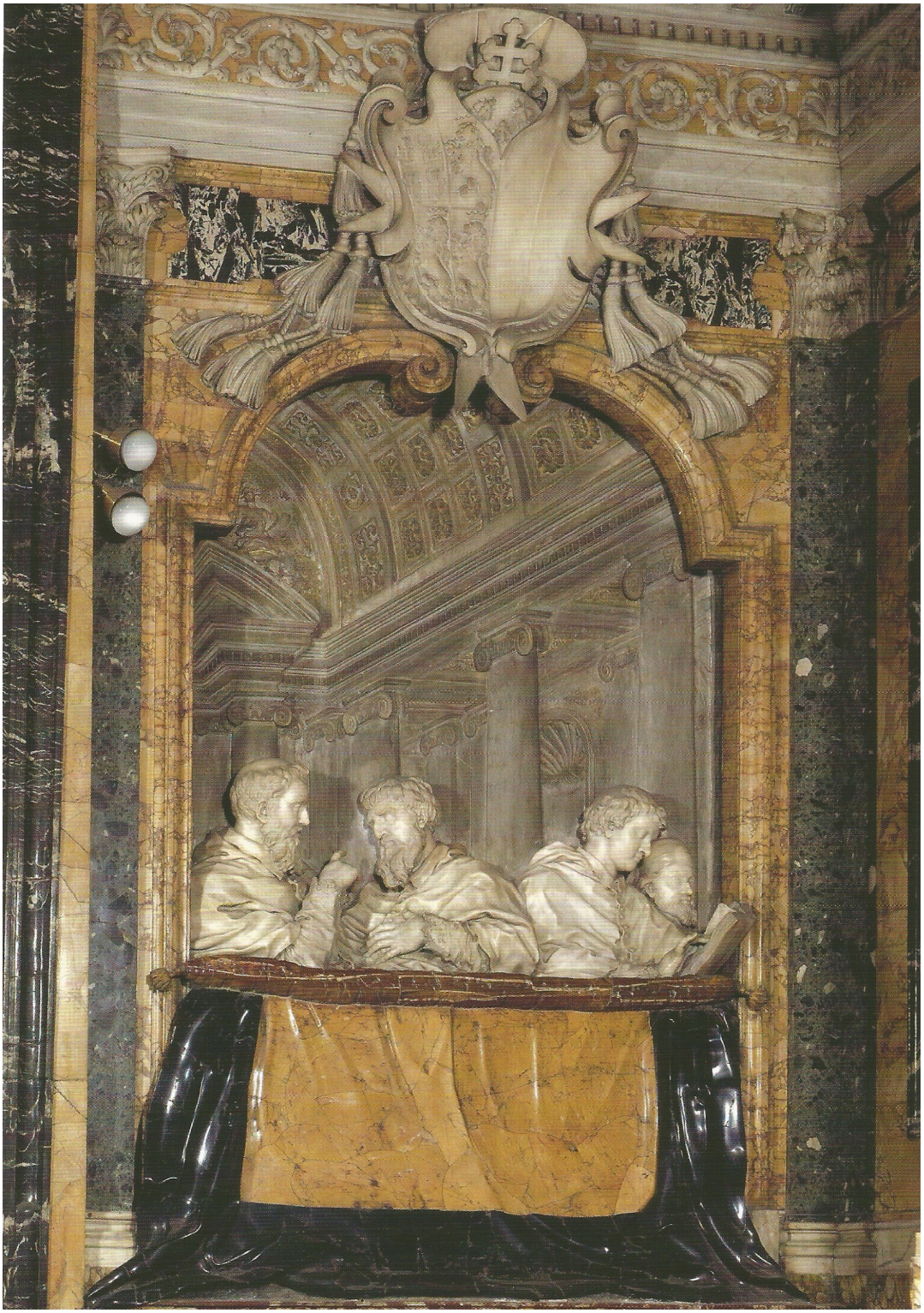

Figure 45. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Lateral walls showing members of the Cornaro family*. 1647-52. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 25.

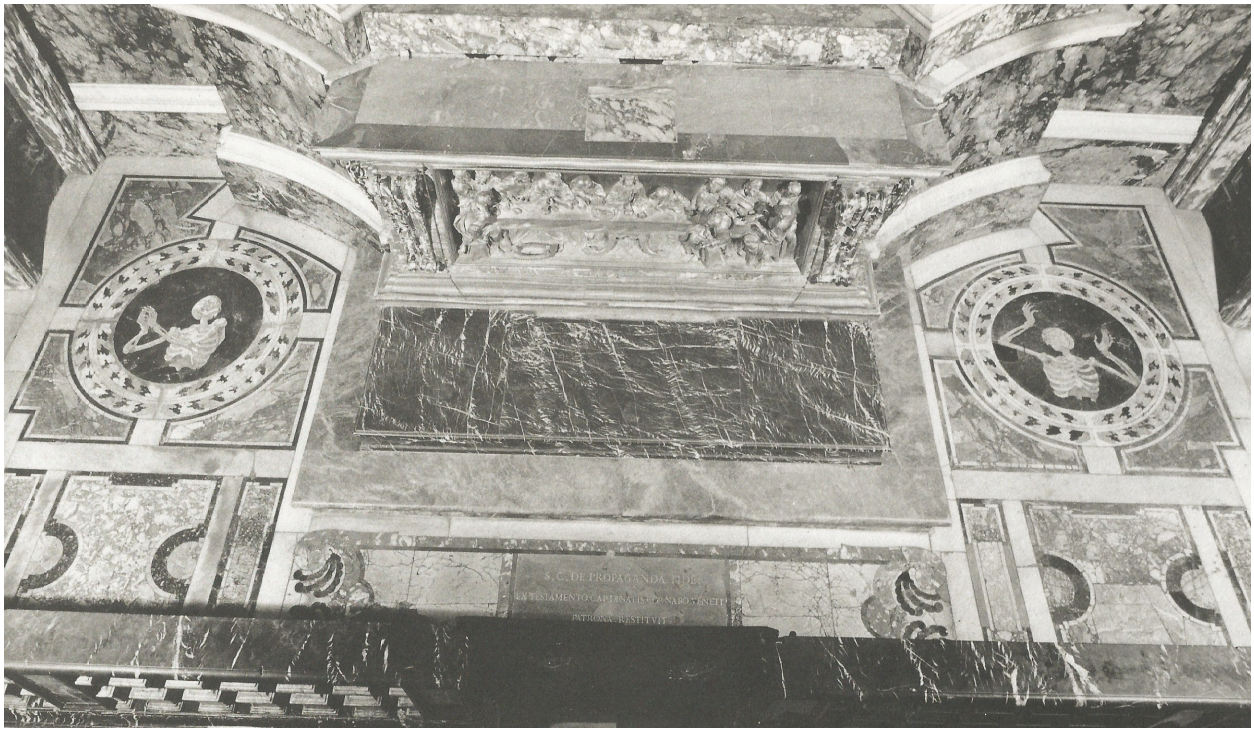

Figure 46. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Pavement*. 1624-26. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Irving Lavin. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library Oxford UP, 1980. Plate 192.

Figure 47. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Pavement intarsia marble detail*. 1647-52. The Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. From: Genevieve Warwick. *Bernini: Art as Theatre.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2012. Plate 23.

Figure 48. *San Francesco a Ripa*. Cerca 1701. Trastevere, Rome. Available from: Gobbler at wikivoyage, 2009 (http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html), via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roma_Trastevere_Chiesa_di_San_Francesco_a_Ripa.jpg (accessed April 27, 2017).

Figure 49. Gianlorenzo Bernini. *Blessed Ludovica Albteroni*. 1671-74, marble. Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. Available from: Flickr via Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blessed_Ludovica_Albertoni_by_Gian_Lorenzo_Bernini_(setting).jpg (accessed April 25, 2017).

Figure 50. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Vault of the recess with the dove of the Holy Spirit*. Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Shelley Karen Perlove. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. Plate 24.

Figure 51. Gianlorenzo Bernini. *Blessed Ludovica Albteroni*. 1671-74, marble. Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Charles Scribner. *Gianlorenzo Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1991. Colorplate 38.

Figure 52. *Frame of the Altarpiece (left side)*. 1627-74. Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Shelley Karen Perlove. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. Plate 21.

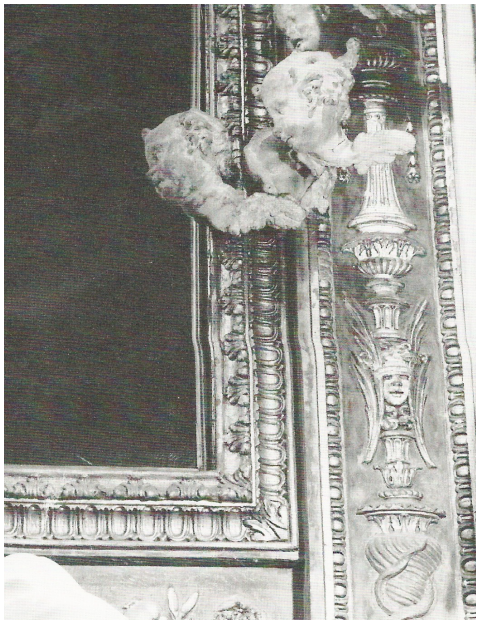

Figure 53. *Frame of the Altarpiece (right side)*. 1627-74. Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Shelley Karen Perlove. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. Plate 22.

Figure 54. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Death of the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*. 1671-74, marble. Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 19. 2017).

Figure 55. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, *Triumph of the Name of Jesus with Fall of the Damned*. 1678-79, fresco, stucco, and oil. Ceiling of the nave in the Church of the Gesù, Rome. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed April 19. 2017).

Figure 56. Giovanni Battista Gaulli, *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*. 1674. Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Shelley Karen Perlove. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. Plate 20.

Figure 57. *Ludovica Giving Bread to a Poor Pilgrim*. Fresco. On the epistle side of the altar, Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Shelley Karen Perlove. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. Plate 13.

Figure 58. *Saint Clare Holding a Monstrance*. Fresco. On the evangelical side of the altar, Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Shelley Karen Perlove. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. Plate 14.

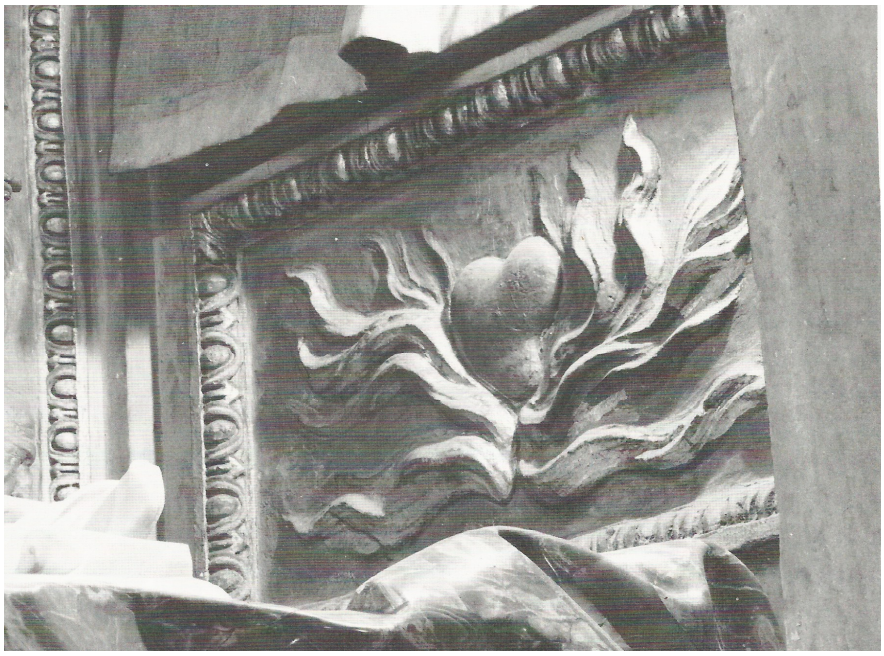

Figure 59. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Flaming Heart.* Panel beneath the right window, Altieri Chapel, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. From: Shelley Karen Perlove. *Bernini and the Idealization of Death: The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni and the Altieri Chapel.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990. Plate 25.

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